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THE STORY

OF

MARYLAND POLITICS

BY

FRANK RICHARDSON KENT

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AN

OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE BIG POLITICAL BATTLES OF THE  
STATE FROM 1864 TO 1910, WITH SKETCHES AND INCI-  
DENTS OF THE MEN AND MEASURES THAT FIGURED  
AS FACTORS, AND THE NAMES OF MOST OF THOSE  
WHO HELD OFFICE IN THAT PERIOD.

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## PREFACE.

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This book does not profess to be a wholly complete political history of Maryland. The data for such a volume cannot be obtained because it does not exist. What I have attempted to do is to tell the political story of the State from the close of the Civil War to the present time, as accurately as possible and without bias.

I have tried to give the facts about every political struggle worth telling about; to trace the rise and fall of the political factors in each; to show their relations to each other, the way they played politics and the kind of men they were. I have sought to picture every campaign made in the State since 1864, to give the names of the men nominated for the principal offices and those elected, to show the political causes that swept them in and out of office, the source from which they derived their power and the way in which they used it. The "inside" and unpublished politics of the many notable fights that have been waged in this State is here given and it has also seemed worth while to compile the names of the men who have represented Maryland in the Legislature and in Congress since 1880, in that there exists no other record of these men, and unless put in a form where they can be preserved, all recollection of them is bound to fade.

It has taken nearly two years to gather the data upon which this book is based. In that time I have sought and obtained from men who were in the thick of the fights the information necessary to write the real story of the times. As the political reporter of the Baltimore Sun from 1900 to 1910, I had unusual opportunities for knowing the real politics played between those years. Prior to 1900, my information had to come from others and from the files of the Baltimore newspapers. I desire to take this opportunity to acknowledge my debt to the late John Prentiss Poe, the late William Pinkney Whyte, and the late Isaac Freeman Rasin, and to William F. Stone, Isaac Lobe Straus, Frank A. Furst, Frank Brown, Frank A. Richardson, Robert

Crain, Douglas H. Thomas, A. Leo Knott, T. J. C. Williams, Murray Vandiver, Judge J. Upshur Dennis, Carroll W. Rasin, Joseph Y. Brattan, J. F. C. Talbott, and many others who have aided me in getting at the truth of the past.

The book may not be free from errors, but these are not material ones, and if it is of any value in keeping alive the State's political history and in showing its political progress, I will be satisfied.

F. R. K.

## CHAPTER I.

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### The Redemption of Maryland From Militarism — Governor Swann and the Senatorship.

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The close of the Civil War found the flower of the manhood of Maryland disfranchised. In those days it was not only a one-party State, but there was practically but one ticket in the field. During the war the ballot was denied every man known or suspected to be in sympathy with the Confederacy. The polls were surrounded by Federal soldiers. Tickets known as the Union and the Union Republican tickets were put up and elections were carried and men put into office by the votes of an insignificant fraction of the male population. The test oaths and intimidation tactics employed by the military and the politicians that stood behind it disfranchised three-fourths of the white male citizens of Maryland, and popular suffrage was really almost extinct.

This was the situation at the close of the war, and there are many men living in Maryland today who remember with painful distinctness the high-handed and outrageous methods used to garner the spoils in those days. The beginning of the change came after the election of Governor Thomas Swann in 1864. Governor Swann was a Union man and was elected on the Union ticket, but he had been in office but a short time before he gave unmistakable indications of a desire to cut loose from the Republican oligarchy which was determined to permanently keep in fetters the Democratic majority. It was through him the registration books were opened and the franchise restored. It was his appointment of registrars who would not enforce the obnoxious test oaths and who placed back upon the books the names of the thousands of white men entitled to the privileges of the ballot, but from whom it had been taken that finally resulted in the withdrawal of the military and the clearing of

the whole political atmosphere. Prior to the Swann election the Democratic party was a feeble and futile organization, overawed by the militia and hamstrung by such test oaths as these, manipulated and construed so as to deprive men of the right to vote:

"I do swear or affirm that I am a citizen of the United States; that I have never given any aid, countenance or support to those in armed hostility to the United States; that I have never expressed a desire for the triumph of said enemies over the arms of the United States, and that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States and support the Constitution and the laws thereof as the supreme law of the land, any law or ordinance of any State to the contrary notwithstanding; that I will, in all respects, demean myself as a loyal citizen of the United States, and I make this oath or affirmation without reservation or evasion and believing it to be binding on me."

The Constitution of the State then in force also contained this clause which was particularly useful to the politicians in refusing the ballot to many who did take the oath above:

"Any person declining to take such oath shall not be allowed to vote, but the taking of such oath shall not be deemed conclusive evidence of the right of such person to vote."

With complete control of the voting machinery it can be realized how easily these provisions could be used as weapons of disfranchisement and they were so used. Borne down under the weight of these handicaps, the Democrats in the Mayoralty election in October, 1864, had no candidates at all. John Lee Chapman and Archibald Stirling, Jr., both Union men, were the only nominees for Mayor, and the Chapman ticket was elected by about 8,000 majority, the Democrats taking no part in that fight, but concentrating all their energies against the adoption of the Constitution of 1864, which was voted upon at the same time, and which was declared adopted by a small majority, notwithstanding the charges of fraud made by the Democratic committee to Governor Bradford. The "soldier" vote was denounced as a fraudulent one, and the accusation was made that the returns had been deliberately held back in order to pad them sufficiently. Proof of this was offered, but it was

of no avail. It is interesting to note who were the active men who in those stirring days in the almost lifeless Democratic party and who were Democrats when it took genuine courage to be one. Orien Bowie was chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee at the time, and A. Leo Knott was its secretary. At a meeting held October 27, 1861, to formulate their protest against the fraud by which the Constitution was adopted, the following were present:

Anne Arundel County—T. S. Igiehart, Nicholas H. Green and Scrigg Hatwood.

Baltimore County—W. M. Isaac, George H. Cartman, E. R. Boardman, Caleb D. Owings, E. S. Myers, Edward Spencer and Thomas Todd.

Baltimore City—Bernard Carter, Albert Ritchie, James R. Brewer, W. H. Roberts, Edward B. Ballam, Ezra Whitman, Joshua M. Bosley, A. Leo Knott, J. Wesley Watkins, William Turner, John Wilson, Dr. M. N. Taylor, W. H. Johnson, Nicholas Robinson, Edward J. Chaisty, Robert H. Wright, Thomas W. Campbell, Edward G. Starr and W. C. Stephens.

Calvert—T. Lewis Griffith, Daniel F. Magruder, Dr. E. T. Hance and John H. Basford.

Caroline—Dr. Washington Gridsborough and Dr. Charles Tarr.

Carroll—George Crouse, Dr. Beld, George W. Manro and Jacob Powder.

Cecil—Hiram McCullough, James B. Greene, J. V. Wallace, W. F. J. Henry, Dr. J. H. McCullough and Dr. J. J. Buckley.

Charles—Dr. Thomas A. Carrico and Frederick Stone.

Frederick—Gen. Anthony Kimmel, Harry W. Dorsey, John Sifford Upton Worthington, W. Rodenrick Dorsey, Cuterbridge Horsey and Dr. L. T. Magill.

Howard—John S. Watkins.

Harford—R. R. Vandiver, Herman Stump and J. Rush Street.

Kent—James Alfred Pearce.

Montgomery—Alexander Kilgour.

Dorchester—R. S. Gridsborough and Caleb Shepherd.

Queen Anne's—Madison Brown and W. H. Neal.

Somerset—Levin Woolford and George R. Dennis.  
St. Mary's—John F. Dent and C. F. Maddox.  
Talbot—John Harrington and Captain Hardcastle.  
Worcester—L. Derrickson and John R. Franklin.  
Washington—Jacob H. Grove and William T. Hamilton.

In the Democratic State convention of that year Ezekiel F. Chambers, of Kent county, was nominated for Governor against Governor Swann. Mr. Bernard Carter made the nominating speech, and his friends endeavored to make him accept the nomination for Attorney-General. Notwithstanding his declination, they put his name before the convention, and it was not until the fifth ballot that he was permitted to withdraw, and I. Nevitt Steele was nominated. Later Mr. Steele got off the ticket and Mr. Carter became the candidate. Mr. Bowie, afterward Governor, was the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. It was the year of the Presidential election and Swann ran on the ticket with Lincoln, who had been renominated for the Presidency by his party. The State candidates of the two parties in Maryland were:

#### UNION.

Governor—Thomas Swann.  
Lieutenant-Governor—Christopher Columbus Cox.  
Attorney - General — Alexander Randall, of Anne Arundel county.  
Comptroller—Robert J. Jump, of Caroline county.  
Judge of the Court of Appeals—Daniel Wiesel, of Washington county.

#### DEMOCRATIC.

Governor—Ezekiel F. Chambers, of Kent county.  
Lieutenant-Governor—Oden Bowie, of Prince George's county.  
Attorney-General—Bernard Carter, of Baltimore city.  
Comptroller—A. Lingan Jarrett, of Harford county.  
Judge of the Court of Appeals—W. P. Maulsby, of Frederick county.

The Union candidates for Congress were J. A. J. Creswell, Edwin H. Webster, Charles E. Phelps, Frank Thomas and John G. Holland, while the Democrats had nominated Hiram McCullough, William Kimmel, A. Leo Knott, A. K. Syester and Benjamin G. Harris. James R. Brewer was a candidate for the State Senate in the city, and Jacob Frey, afterward Police Marshal, and E. J. Chaisty were on the House of Delegates ticket. The election was held on November 8, 1864. Every person applying to vote was required to take the test oath, and many were peremptorily challenged for alleged disloyalty and their votes refused. Swann was elected by about 9,000 majority, and the rest of the ticket went in with him. The Democrats secured a majority of 2 in the State Senate, then composed of 24 members, but the Republicans had a majority of 24 in the House and complete control. There was not a single Democrat from Baltimore City elected to either House of Delegates or Senate.

Almost immediately after taking his seat Governor Swann began to co-operate with the Democrats in the Legislature in their efforts to free themselves from the bonds under which they had so long chafed. His course in this brought down upon him the bitter denunciation of the Republican politicians who had helped nominate and elect him, but it gained for him State-wide praise and commendation among the Democrats as well as among the fair-minded members of his own party, the decent element of which had become disgusted with the rank injustice and brutality with which elections were conducted.

There is a story that Swann's course was the result of a bargain made by him with the Democrats by which in return for his influence in opening the registration lists he was to have—and later he got it—the Democratic support for United States Senator. This accusation was made by the embittered men of his own party who regarded him as a traitor, but there is no evidence to sustain this charge, nor to show that Swann was prompted by any other motive than his own sense of justice and right. At all events by opening the registration lists he made it possible for the Democrats to gain control of the Legislature of 1867, and this was the Legislature

that called the Constitutional Convention of 1867. The Republicans declined to recognize the validity of the call, and ignored it. They refrained from going to the polls, believing up to the last moment they would get help and encouragement from Washington. They did not get it, and in the convention that met in May, and adjourned August 19, 1867, after 75 days of continuous session, there was not a single Republican. It was a solid, conservative, substantial body of men, earnest and sincere. Judge R. B. Carmichael, who some time before had been clubbed off the bench with revolvers wielded by Federal deputy marshals, presided over the convention, and there were as members the men of brains, influence and character in the State. Among them were Bernard Carter, Judge Henry Page, the late Judge Albert C. Ritchie, Henry Farnandis, of Harford county; George William Brown, the late Judge Wickes, George M. Gill, Judge Henry F. Garey and many others. When this body completed its work the present Constitution of the State had been framed.

In the January before the Constitutional Convention Governor Swann made his first fight for the United States Senate, and the incidents connected with this fight form one of the most interesting episodes of this period. At the time Maryland was represented in the United States Senate by Reverdy Johnson, who, a Whig before the war, had acted with the Democrats afterward, and John Andrew Jackson Creswell, of Cecil county, who was elected by the Legislature of 1865 to fill out the unexpired term of Senator Thomas H. Hicks, who died in that year. Creswell was later Postmaster-General under Grant and was a most resourceful politician. Various accounts of why Swann at the last minute declined the Senatorship, to which the Democrats had elected him, and which he ardently desired, have been given, but the actual inside story of how he avoided the trap set for him by the Republicans, and how he obtained the tip, have never been told.

The fact is that it was a woman who let the cat out of the bag, and spoiled the well-laid, carefully concealed Republican plan of knocking Swann out of the Governorship, as well as the Senatorship. The most interesting part of the story, which is undoubt-

edly true, is that the woman was Mrs. Creswell, wife of the man Swann proposed to succeed, and who was fighting to hold on to the place. Few men at the time knew the actual facts, and fewer still know it now. Two who did, however, were Mr. John P. Poe and Mr. Bernard Carter, and they gained their information more than a year after Swann's declination.

One day about this time, Mr. Poe and Mr. Carter were coming over from Washington to Baltimore on a Baltimore and Ohio train. Montgomery Blair, an uncle of State Senator Blair Lee, of Montgomery county, who had been Postmaster-General under Lincoln, and was also a brother of Francis P. Blair, Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1868, was on the train, and the three men engaged in conversation. Montgomery Blair told this story. He said after Swann had been elected Senator by the Democratic Legislature, two men from Cecil county, one a Republican and one a Democrat, and both warm friends of Senator Creswell, were in Washington enjoying themselves. When the time came to go home one of them said to the other, "Let's go up and pay our respects to the Senator before we go. We can wait over for the next train just as well." The other Cecil countian agreed, and the two got on a car and went up to Senator Creswell's house. Senator Creswell was not at home, but Mrs. Creswell came down to greet them. She knew the Republican as a personal and political friend of her husband, and naturally supposed his companion to be a Republican, too. She began to talk of her husband's retirement from the Senate in a day or so, and one of the men said something about Governor Swann's election as his successor.

"Oh, yes," said Mrs. Creswell, "but we do not intend to let him take his seat," and she thereupon told of the determination of the Senate leaders to turn Swann down upon the ground that he had entered into a corrupt bargain with the Democrats to secure his election. The plan was to keep this a secret until Swann had relinquished the Governorship and Christopher Columbus Cox had been installed in his place. If this could be carried through the Republicans would have had the State and Swann would have been out in the cold and jobless.

Mrs. Creswell's naive and candid tale thrilled the Cecil county Democrat with interest. He drank it all in without batting an eye, but he was doing some pretty fast thinking, and as soon as he got out of the Creswell house he made the quickest possible time getting in touch with Montgomery Blair, to whom he related what Mrs. Creswell had said. This was the first intimation the Democratic leaders had had that Swann would not be permitted to take his seat, and as he was to relinquish the Governorship the next day, it presented a most serious situation.

Blair immediately dispatched a trusted messenger to Annapolis with the news for Governor Swann. The messenger reached Annapolis about an hour and a half before the Legislature convened for the day, and delivered the news to Swann. Mr. Cox, the Lieutenant-Governor, elected on the same ticket with Swann, was in Annapolis with his wife, daughters and friends, waiting to be inaugurated immediately after Swann resigned the Governorship, and all the preparations for the inaugural were complete. Upon the receipt of Blair's message Swann hastily sent this letter to Cox:

"Having informed you of my purpose to resign the position which I now hold as Governor of Maryland on February 26 (this day), I now state in order that it may be communicated to the Senate to whom the announcement has been made, that I do not feel at liberty to take this important step without further time for deliberation. I shall communicate with the General Assembly at as early a date as practicable upon this matter.

"With great respect, I am, your obedient servant,

"THOMAS SWANN."

Cox may or may not have known of the intention of the Senate leaders not to seat Swann, but he knew nothing of Swann's purpose to decline until he got this letter, and this was just before he entered the old Senate Chamber to preside over that body. He had expected to be Governor in an hour, and the collapse of his elaborate inaugural plans brought great mortification and humiliation to him and his friends.

On March 2—four days later—Swann sent this communication to the Legislature:

"Gentlemen:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of an official communication from the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Delegates informing me that the General Assembly of Maryland had elected me a Senator of the United States for the term of six years from March 4, 1867. This honor has been conferred upon me, as is well known throughout the State, without any urging or solicitation upon my part. It had been my purpose in response to the action of your honorable body and what was then the wish of the people of the State, to have accepted this high trust, and I had so expressed myself on various occasions and more recently in an interview with the Lieutenant-Governor. Within a short time past, however, and up to the date of my communication to that officer on the 26th ultimo, when my resignation was expected to be officially announced, I have been visited by such appeals from the representative men of the State, urged with an earnestness and unanimity which could not be mistaken, asking my continuance in the Gubernatorial chair, that I did not feel at liberty to consult my individual preferences in making up a final judgment upon this subject. I have no right from any motive of personal ambition in connection with the Senatorial office, if such could be supposed for a moment to influence my action, to disregard my paramount obligation to the people of my State. With this brief explanation I deem it proper to avail myself of the earliest opportunity compatible with the public interests, and in deference to what I believe to be my duty to the people of the State of Maryland, to decline appointment of Senator of the United States for six years from March 4, 1867, and to return to the General Assembly my grateful appreciation of the distinguished honor it has conferred upon me."

The fact that Swann had learned of the plan to refuse him admission to the Senate after he had given up the Governorship, of course, became known after a while. Swann, at the time, got the credit of sacrificing his own personal ambitions in order not to turn the State over to the Republicans, and a resolution was passed by the Legislature by the vote of every Democrat highly commanding him for his stand, and practically pledging him its

support next time. After Swann's declination the Legislature again went into the throes of electing a Senator, and all the candidates who had been in the fight before again came to the front. Among them were E. K. Wilson, Isaac D. Jones, George R. Dennis and James T. Earle. After balloting for some days Philip Francis Thomas was chosen, but he was not permitted to take his seat in the Senate on the ground that he had given "aid and comfort to the enemy," his crime consisting of the fact that he had given his son \$10 to go South during the war. Following this, the Legislature elected General George R. Vickers, of Kent county, and him the Senate seated.

An interesting incident connected with General Vickers' election is that his vote was necessary to sustain Andrew Johnson in the impeachment trial then pending in the Senate. General Vickers was at his home in Chestertown when he was elected. Word came to the Democratic leaders from Washington that his vote was needed. After the Legislature adjourned on the day of his election an ice boat was obtained and General Vickers' friends, led by J. Q. A. Robson, of Baltimore, made the trip from Annapolis to Chestertown, breaking the ice in the bay as they went. They reached General Vickers' home late at night, and it is stated got him out of bed, notified him of his election, took him to Baltimore by boat, put him on a special Baltimore and Ohio train furnished by John W. Garrett, and got him to Washington just in time to be sworn in and cast his vote in favor of the President. The impeachment proceedings against Andrew Johnson failed of success by one vote, and the claim has been made that but for the prompt action of the Democratic leaders in Maryland they would have been successful.

## CHAPTER II.

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### The Rise to Power of Gorman and Rasin—Entrance of the Negro Into Politics.

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In 1866 both the late Arthur P. Gorman and the late I. Freeman Rasin were active in politics, although they had not then met and had no claims to leadership.

Mr. Gorman during the Civil War was assistant postmaster of the United States Senate, and while Swann was Governor he was made Collector of Internal Revenue for the Fifth Maryland district by President Andrew Johnson, with whom he was a great personal favorite. He was then about 27 years old, and was possessed of a certain amount of strength in Howard county, but had no real following. Those who knew him recognized the power and ability of the man, and even at that age he had a reputation for political astuteness and sagacity. At that time he is described as dressing in a ministerial blackness unusual for a man of his age and preserving a grave and serious countenance. His absolute impassiveness and imperturbability were then, as in the years to follow, most marked. No one can be found who even in his youth can remember a moment when Mr. Gorman was thrown off his balance or lost either his head or his temper. He took defeat and victory with equal coolness and calm, and he showed no emotion even under the most exciting conditions. In this, as in many other respects, he was a remarkable man. The mountains of abuse and vilification heaped upon him in the long course of his political career left him unshaken and serene. Nor did they shake the affection and loyalty of his friends. In a speech at the Lyric in his last Senatorial campaign, when some man in the audience rose up and denounced those who were attacking him, Mr. Gorman replied, with a smile on his face: "My friend, don't you mind what they say about me. It does not hurt the ticket; it gives those fellows something to write about, and it is the best advertisement I could possibly have."

Many of the things said about Mr. Gorman, however, stung

him to the quick, and he neither forgave nor forgot his enemies, but he showed no feeling about it either publicly or privately. The few replies he made to attacks upon him were made for political and not personal reasons. His policy was to ignore assaults upon himself, believing the most effective answer to be the majorities for his tickets on election day. At this time, however, he was not a factor in Maryland politics, and was not taken into consideration by the leaders.

Mr. Rasin, some years older than Mr. Gorman, was then a well-known figure in Baltimore city politics. In the old Know Nothing days he had been secretary of the Ashland Club, a Know Nothing organization of East Baltimore. He, however, cast only one vote for a candidate of that party, and that was for Mayor Hicks in 1856, and his connection with that element was temporary and rested upon slight ties. During the war he seems to have been occupied by business pursuits and was for a while in the millinery business. He had, however, a considerable personal following and a local reputation for keenness and capacity in ward politics. His strength in the party was recognized to such an extent that as soon as the State was reclaimed from the military and Federal rule he was nominated upon the city Democratic ticket for the important place of Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. This was in 1867, and is significant mainly in showing that he was even then an acknowledged factor in the party organization. He was elected in that year, and it was from that office which he held for a period of 18 years that he developed his early leverage as a leader. At the time his pecuniary resources were small, but he was thrifty.

After his first election in 1867 Mr. Rasin went along quietly extending his power from ward to ward, rapidly growing in strength and importance politically; but it was not until the Brown-Hodges fight for Mayor that he swept the city of all opposition to his leadership and secured a grip upon the organization of his party which until the day of his death was never relaxed nor shaken. His absolute and complete domination of the party in the city, in season and out of season, through the fat years when the City Hall patronage was all his own, and through long, lean years when the power of rewarding his fol-



ARTHUR P. GORMAN.



lowers was taken entirely away from him and the Mayor's chair was occupied either by a Republican or an anti-Rasin Democrat (who treated him with even less consideration), was a feat practically without precedent in this country and his whole political career has stamped him as one of the ablest political leaders in the land. He was in equally close touch with the best and the worst elements in the city. Men like "Tom" Smith, the negro Democrat of the Seventeenth ward, and the "Muldoons" of politics saw him at his office, while men like Douglas Thomas, William Shepard Bryan and hundreds of others of equally high standing, including some of the best known clergymen in Baltimore, saw him at his home and were his friends.

He knew everything and everybody. The gossip of the slums and the gossip of the local "400" came to him with equal facility and he was keenly interested in both. He was an inexhaustible mine of personal information about people and nothing worth knowing in the town escaped him. No man who ever lived in Baltimore has been in anything like as close touch with the people as was Mr. Rasin, and no man who ever lived here had the acquaintance or the friends he possessed. The subterranean methods of communication he had in operation were numerous and marvelous. In a number of instances men who were actively fighting him on the stump and throughout a campaign on the surface were in reality his agents and under cloak of darkness went to his house nightly to report. The names of some of these men would astonish the citizens of Baltimore. Like Mr. Gorman, Mr. Rasin bore the brunt of many battles and had more than his share of abuse and villification. Unlike Mr. Gorman, however, he did not bear these attacks serenely or with a philosophic mind. On the contrary, he bitterly resented them, writhed under them and violently denounced his enemies to his friends, freeing his mind of his opinion of them and relating whatever of a discreditable nature he knew of them.

At the period when he was first elected as clerk of the court the Democratic party in city and State was really in a formative stage. It was just getting on its feet, just recovering from the years of oppression to which it had been subjected. There was no real organization. Mr. Frank A. Furst says that at the time

he came to Baltimore (about 1866) the downtown leaders used to include John Pickering, Dr. Milton N. Taylor, Timothy Ryan, father of William P. Ryan; Fritz Buckheimer, George Colton, Robert J. Slater, I. Freeman Rasin, J. Q. A. Robson and one or two others. They used to meet at Stevens' shipyard, at the foot of Ann street, to talk things over. Patterson Park was another meeting place. J. Frank Morrison, who in later years Mr. Rasin hated as violently as he did any man in town; Hiram Dudley, Morris Thomas and others were among the uptown politicians. The ward leaders in those days—that is, the men who controlled the organization, such as it was, in their respective wards—included "Billy" Constantine, in the old First ward; Fritz Buckheimer, in the Second; Isaac Sanner, in the Third; John Quinn, called "Hack" because at that time he drove a hack for a living, in the Fourth; John Gray and "Bob" Hayes, in the Fifth; J. Q. A. Robson, in the Sixth; Mr. Rasin, in the Seventh; Richardson and the Kernans, in the Eighth; John J. Mahon, then known as "Sonny" and now the organization leader, in the Ninth; Henry G. Fledderman, in the Tenth; John Gill, Jr., and Roger Dulany, in the Eleventh; J. Frank Morrison and Hiram Dudley, in the Fourteenth; "Mat" Donovan, in the Fifteenth; Col. Eugene Joyce, in the Sixteenth; Key and Briscoe, in the Eighteenth; Claypoole and Bart Smith, in the Nineteenth, and Paul Krout, in the Twentieth.

These were the Democratic politicians in the city of the Swann administration. Prior to that time they amounted to little or nothing, but after the capture by their party of the Legislature of 1867 they at once became factors. Of the lot Rasin, Slater and Morrison were the strongest, each of these three having control not only of his own ward but of others through their friends among the ward leaders. There was no big city Democratic boss. He had not then developed. Mr. Rasin, like Mr. Gorman, was but upon the threshold of his political career, and it was years afterward before he obtained that undisputed ascendancy within the city organization which he held without loosening his grasp and without a serious rival through victory and defeat alike for an unbroken period of nearly 30 years.

The story of the first meeting of Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin was one which the latter was exceedingly fond of telling. It occurred in 1870 in the back office of the old Courthouse, where Mr. Rasin had his headquarters during the years he served as Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. A conference was being held in this office of which several of the State leaders were present. Mr. Rasin said that throughout the conference he noticed Gorman sitting quietly in the background, saying nothing, but listening quietly and intently. After the conference broke up Mr. Rasin asked John W. Davis who was that young fellow sitting over there with the smooth face.

"Don't you know him?" asked Davis. "Why, that is Gorman, of Howard county, and he is a good man, too. Come over here, Gorman," And Mr. Gorman got up and came over. He and Mr. Rasin shook hands and sized each other up. Afterward several of them went across to lunch at Barnum's Hotel and Gorman went along. Mr. Rasin used to say: "While we were eating I was trying to size him up and I felt he was doing the same thing with me." The next time Rasin saw John W. Davis he said to him: "That fellow Gorman is no fool."

"That's exactly what he says about you," was the reply.

That was the beginning of an alliance that lasted 35 years, and the bonds between the two men were so strong that even when they fell out personally they could not afford to separate altogether politically.

After his first Senatorial fiasco Governor Swann by no means abandoned the idea of going to the United States Senate. As a matter of fact, he allied himself more strongly than ever with the Democrats, and his friends and himself looked forward to the Legislature of 1869 to elect him as the successor of Reverdy Johnson, who was in the Senate at the time. Accordingly, Governor Swann pitched himself into the fight for the adoption of the Constitution of 1867, and was the star Democratic orator in that campaign. He made a ringing and eloquent address at a tremendous mass-meeting held in Baltimore in Monument Square in September, 1867, in which he aroused unbridled enthusiasm by declaring that his effort would be to co-operate with the conservative Democrats of the State to stay the progress of radical

principles. At this meeting the marching Democratic ward clubs were a big feature. This was the first campaign in which they, with their bands and transparencies, figured, and much was made of it at the time. They have been a feature of every really big mass-meeting since that time.

Some of the legends of the club banners included "Equal rights and equal laws for the white man." A free Constitution and free speech." Mr. James R. Brewer, chairman of the State Executive Committee, called the meeting to order, and it was presided over by Hon. Thomas G. Pratt. The vice-presidents included Joshua Vansant, Mendes Cohen, John H. Barnes, James Henderson, Ezra Whitman, George P. Donalson, P. P. Pendleton, John A. Robb, James Marshall, E. H. Hobbs, James W. McElroy, Henry F. Garey, James Bartol, Henry Duvall and others. Still other meetings, equally enthusiastic, were held, and the sentiment of the people throughout the State was thoroughly aroused. They were stirred by the eloquent appeals of the best and biggest men in Maryland. As a result, when the election was held on September 18 the Constitution, under which the people of the State are living today, was ratified by a majority of 25,852.

As has been stated, the Republicans held themselves aloof, many of them did not go to the polls at all, and up to the last moment they looked for the aid from Washington which did not come. It was a sweeping and decisive victory for the "Conservative Democratic party," as it was then called, over the "Radical Republican party," and sent the former into the campaign which opened almost immediately with an enthusiasm and confidence that nothing could check. In November of that year Oden Bowie was elected Governor by the unprecedented plurality of 41,644, greater than that attained by any Governor of Maryland, before or since. With him there was elected a Legislature that was solidly and unanimously Democratic in both branches, there being not a single Republican in either House or Senate. In the Congressional elections of the year following the Democrats again swept the State, electing all six Congressmen. These two elections placed the Democratic party firmly on its feet, and from that date until the present time it has maintained its ascendancy.

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in the State and city governments, with the single exception of the four years from 1895 to 1899, during which period Lloyd Lowndes was Governor of the State and Alcaeus Hooper and William T. Malster the Mayors of Baltimore city.

Before telling the story of the nomination of Oden Bowie, his fight for it and what followed, which is an interesting one, full of significant sidelights, it is well to take a view of the first big, dominant figure in the party after the war—William Pinkney Whyte. He was the first real leader; in fact, he was the only man whose grasp upon the organization of his party included counties as well as city. Astute and popular, he was a master of the art of working up the election of delegates to conventions, and at other tricks of the trade as well. With a grip of iron he ruled and ran things for years. He was the boss and an unrelenting and determined one, who combined with ability, strength and personal integrity a magnetism and lovable-ness that bound men to him with bonds of steel.

When Gorman and Rasin were starting out as local leaders—before ever they had met—Whyte had been in politics for 20 years. He was first elected to the house of Delegates as far back as 1847, and before the Constitutional Convention of 1867 was held he had served in the State Senate, as State Comptroller and as United States Senator. Also he had been a candidate for Congress, but was euchi red out of the election and his opponent, J. Morrison Harris, father of the present Postmaster, W. Hall Harris, and afterward a candidate for Governor on the Reform ticket against Carroll, got the seat to which Whyte and his friends al-ways believed he was entitled.

It was when Reverdy Johnson was made Minister to the Court of St. James that Governor Swann appointed Mr. Whyte to serve out the unexpired term in the Senate from March 4, 1869. He was in the Senate this time less than one year, but in that year he cast a vote and made a speech of which he never afterward ceased to be proud, and for some years before he died he was the only living man at that time a member of the United States Senate who had voted and spoken against the amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring the right of suffrage upon the negro. In fact, he outlived every member of that Senate, both

those who voted for and those who voted against the amendment, and when 28 years later, a whole generation, he again entered the Senate for the third time as a representative of Maryland—he was the sole survivor—the one man who could speak on this subject as a personal participant in that memorable and stirring struggle. In his last years Mr. Whyte liked to refer to this vote of his, and in the campaign against the Poe suffrage amendment in 1905, which he violently opposed, he would quote his speech and vote at that time as showing his eternal and consistent opposition to the principle of negro suffrage. In this connection it is a significant and interesting fact that the first time the negroes ever voted in Maryland at a State election was at the election of 1871, when Mr. Whyte was the Democratic candidate for Governor, and it was the negro vote which reduced the Bowie plurality of 41,000 and more, when none but white men voted, to 15,000 showing that there was at that election about 26,000 black ballots cast solidly for the Republican ticket. And they have been cast with equal solidity for the candidates of that party ever since, more than doubling numerically, but remaining almost stationary in intelligence, discrimination and independence.

The negroes, however, first voted in Maryland in the Congressional election of 1870—a year before Whyte was a candidate—and at a time when no State candidate was chosen. The Whyte election marked the start of vote-buying and election bribery in Maryland. Prior to that time such a thing as a man selling his vote or buying the vote of others was practically unknown. In 1871 the start in this sort of corruption began, and the Democrats were responsible for it, they being the ones who first found it profitable to pay the negroes to stay away from the polls. The practice grew greatly from that date, and no campaign that followed has been free from it. From buying the negroes the next step was buying the white men, and it did not take many years of this sort of thing before the politics of Maryland became thoroughly steeped in corruption. It is a fact that in no State in the Union anywhere near the size of Maryland has as much money been spent in elections as here. A remarkable feature connected with this is that the great bulk of the huge sums that have been spent here was raised outside of the State, mostly in New York.

Many thousands of dollars have been given Maryland Democratic leaders in this State by New York men for election purposes. In one campaign Harry Welles Rusk, then chairman of the Democratic City Committee, went to New York and returned with \$10,000 contributed there by New Yorkers for use here in an entirely local campaign. This is only one instance. There were many such.

Mr. Gorman had never any difficulty in raising money in New York for Maryland campaigns, and the amount that has been used here in State elections is almost incredible. The Republicans in Maryland never had much money in elections prior to the 1896 campaign, when Bryan was first nominated for the Presidency. In that campaign the Democrats were unable to get hold of enough money to pay actual expenses, whereas the Republicans had more than they could spend. The same has been true in every Presidential and Congressional election since that time. In those years the Democrats always had to rake the State with a fine tooth comb to get their campaign fund and got little help outside, while the Republicans got huge contributions from the national headquarters and have always been plentifully supplied.

In the State campaign the situation was just the reverse, and in only one Gubernatorial campaign since the Civil War have the Republicans had as much money as the Democrats. That was in 1895, when Lowndes, the only Republican Governor since the war, was elected, and at that time the bulk of the Republican money was raised by the independent Democrats, who had bolted the party. Maryland probably holds the record of being the home of the man who spent more money to have himself elected to Congress than any other single individual in the country. William H. Jackson admitted spending \$50,000 in one of his campaigns on the Eastern Shore, and some of his close friends who helped handle his money estimate his total expenditures in the 1906 campaign at closer to \$80,000 than the former sum.

## CHAPTER III

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### The Railroad War that Elected Oden Bowie Governor.

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To return to the Bowie fight for the Gubernatorial nomination in 1867, its distinguishing feature was the battle royal that waged between the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad companies, beginning before Bowie's nomination and continuing pretty well through his administration. The Legislatures of 1868 and of 1870 were both marked by the conflicts between those two big corporations which locked horns and bitterly fought for privileges and franchises in the gift of the General Assembly. The Bowie administration marked the real beginning of the lobby at Annapolis, and money flowed as freely as water at both these sessions. These were the "palmy days" for the genial gentlemen who operated in the lobby, and it was about this period that they formed an almost perfect organization, a combination that was without a flaw and that held compactly together for many years. Several men in these "palmy days" made a great deal of more or less legitimate lucre, and they made it openly and almost without criticism for some time.

Some years before the war the Legislature had granted to Oden Bowie and other well-known citizens of Prince George's county and Southern Maryland a charter to build the Baltimore and Pope's Creek railroad, with power to construct "lateral" branches. Mr. Bowie was anxious for this road to be established and the people of his county wanted it badly. Some time before the war Mr. Bowie took the charter to John W. Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, and asked him to build the road. Mr. Garrett did not seem to think much of the proposition, but said that if the people in the section through which it was proposed to run would build the road themselves he would equip and operate it. This was equivalent to sitting down on the proposition, and again it languished for some years. Then Mr. Bowie, after giving the charter and its "lateral" branches section some more study, conceived the idea that

under it the Pennsylvania Railroad could build the Baltimore and Potomac road, connecting its line with Washington.

At that time the Pennsylvania had no connection between Baltimore and Washington. The Baltimore and Ohio had the only road, and it held its rival by the throat, forcing it to haul its cars across the city to Camden Station by horses and refusing to permit tickets to be sold by the Pennsylvania good from New York to Washington. When this idea of linking the Pennsylvania with Washington by a line of its own struck Mr. Bowie he put his trusty little charter in his pocket and went to Philadelphia, where he called upon Thomas A. Scott, then president of the Pennsylvania Railroad system. Mr. Bowie had to wait in the outer office for nearly two hours before he saw Mr. Scott, but he finally did see him and laid the matter before him. That far-seeing gentleman instantly saw the big possibilities for his road that lay within the charter, but he also saw that some additional legislation would be necessary before these could materialize. He accordingly told Mr. Bowie: "We cannot do anything with that charter now. John W. Garrett has got the Maryland Legislature in his hands and can do what he wants with it. Go back and get yourself elected Governor of the State and I can then talk business to you."

Mr. Bowie came back to Baltimore and that night at Barnum's Hotel let his friends know that he would be a candidate for the Gubernatorial nomination. For years he had been prominent in the Democratic party and was one of its most popular and strongest men. A soldier of the Mexican War, he had a big personal following throughout the State, and immediately became a formidable candidate. He began work at once and the Southern Maryland counties rallied around him, forming the nucleus of his strength. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad suspected nothing of the scheme this Gubernatorial aspirant had up his sleeve, or the line would have been sharply drawn before the convention met and Mr. Garrett could probably have defeated him with ease. As it was, he had an exceedingly hard fight to land the nomination, winning by one vote, and that one cast by a man pledged to the opposing candidate.

The first nominations to follow the ratifications of the new Constitution came on September 25, of the same year, when the Democratic judiciary convention was held at the old Front Street Theatre. Judge James L. Bartol was nominated for judge of the Court of Appeals, Judge T. Parkin Scott for Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench, and Messrs. George W. Dobbin and Henry F. Garey for associate judges. This was the convention that nominated I. Freeman Rasin for Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. James R. Brewer for Clerk of the Circuit Court; Andrew J. George for Clerk of the City Court; Thomas Bond, Isaiah Balderson and Bolivar D. Daniels for judges of the Orphans' Court, and J. Harman Brown for Register of Wills. It was a fine convention. There was no boss and there was nothing cut and dried about it. Hot contests for all the nominations were made and the convention was composed of respectable, substantial citizens. The party was young in power, the "ring" had not then come into existence and it was as nearly a model political gathering as has ever been held in the State. There were, for instance, 24 candidates for Judge of the Orphans' Court. Rasin's opponents for the nomination were William H. Roberts, John H. Warner and Philip D. Sutton, and it took several ballots to nominate him. Two days later the Mayoralty convention was held and Robert T. Banks was unanimously nominated.

Two weeks later—October 10—the State convention was held in the New Assembly Rooms, Hanover and Lombard streets. Bowie and his friends, who had been pulling all the wires in sight believed they had the votes to nominate him, but feared William T. Hamilton, of Western Maryland, whose aggressive fight had weaned away from the Bowie camp some of the delegates upon whom the Prince George's man had been counting. Other names presented to the convention were John Wethered, named by Richard Grason, of Baltimore county; Henry D. Farnandis, named by Stevenson Archer, of Harford county; J. K. Longwell, of Carroll county; William T. Hamilton, of Washington county; Walter Mitchell, of Charles, and Benjamin G. Harris, of St. Mary's county. Seven ballots were taken and the most intense excitement prevailed. The fight from the start was between Bowie and Hamilton, and was an exceedingly close one. The final vote

gave Bowie 56 votes and Hamilton 55. There were 111 delegates in the convention and 56 votes were necessary to nominate. A. P. Gorman was a delegate from Howard county to this convention. He and his colleagues were instructed for Hamilton, but on the final vote Mr. Gorman's colleague, James MacCubbin, switched his vote to Bowie and brought about his nomination. There was bitter disappointment among Mr. Hamilton's friends, and the Western Maryland delegates became even more aggrieved when the convention followed this by turning down their candidate for Attorney-General, A. K. Syester, of Washington county, the warm friend, personally and politically, of Hamilton.

This was the first convention of his party in which the late General L. Victor Baughman, always an exceedingly popular and enthusiastic Democrat, took an active part. Mr. Baughman pleaded eloquently for recognition for Western Maryland, as he always did. Notwithstanding his fervor, Syester was turned down and after eleven ballots Isaac D. Jones, of Somerset county, was nominated. Others whose names were placed before the convention for the Attorney-Generalship and who received scattering votes were Charles J. M. Gwinn, Bernard Carter, ex-Gov. Thomas Pratt, Albert Ritchie and H. W. Archer, of Harford county. There was a fight, too, over the Comptrollership nomination, but this also went to the Eastern Shore, W. J. Leonard, of Wicomico, being named over L. L. Dirickson, of Worcester; R. T. Goldsborough, of Dorchester, and Levi K. Brown, of Baltimore city. The Republican convention was held the next day at Broadway Hall, and here Governor Swann came in for some vivid denunciation from his former colleagues. Ex-United States Senator Creswell presided, and urged a reorganization of the whole party. R. Stockett Matthews, one of the leading Republicans of the day, made a vehement address, and the following ticket was nominated by acclamation:

For Governor—Hugh L. Bond.

For Attorney-General—Henry L. Goldsborough, of Talbot county.

For Comptroller—Frederick Schley, of Washington.

For Clerk of the Court of Appeals—W. W. L. Seabrook, of Anne Arundel county.

The Republicans followed their convention with a big meeting at Fayette and Holliday streets, over which Archibald Stirling presided and a feature of which was the advocacy by Gen. Adam E. King of giving the ballot to the blacks. Among the prominent Republicans present were William McCormick, John W. Randolph, Jacob W. Hugg, Thomas Kelso, John J. Dobler (now judge), John J. Danaker, E. C. Fowler, Henry C. Dennison and Marcus Dennison. These were the active men in Republican politics in those days, and most of the men who are managing things now in the grand old party were too young to know anything about politics. Collector William F. Stone, the present party leader in the State, in those days was playing baseball and going to school, and Congressman Sydney E. Mudd had not even then reached the Democratic stage of his political career. The same thing is true of Mr. Thomas Parran, John B. Hanna and practically all of the others who are now active in the management of the Republican organization. The one man who stands out as conspicuously prominent in those days and who is still a big figure as a Republican, although he is far removed from active participation in politics, is Gen. James A. Gary, who has an unbroken record of more than half a century of active Republicanism. Few recollect it now, but General Gary was once a candidate for the State Senate against Gorman.

The Republicans in that year made a hot but hopeless fight, and the Democrats on October 23 elected Banks as Mayor and with him the whole city ticket—Rasin and the others. This was followed up two weeks later by the sweeping victory of Bowie and the whole State ticket from Garrett to Worcester. The Republicans were overwhelmed, crushed, and every county, as well as every ward in the city, the whole State and the whole city government was almost solidly Democratic, the Republican officeholder being scarcer than he has ever been since. Ferdinand C. Latrobe was elected for the first time to the House of Delegates. Along with him went George Colton, from Baltimore city, and C. Bohn Slingluff, Charles H. Nicolai and John S. Biddison, grandfather of State Senator Biddison from Baltimore county. George Yellott was elected associate judge of the Third circuit, and William S. Keech defeated John T. Ensor for State's Attor-

ney of Baltimore county. Upon the assembling of the Democratic cohorts at Annapolis the unanimity of the membership of their party in both branches and the total absence of Republicans in either made a caucus for organization unnecessary, and Barnes Compton was chosen president of the Senate, with William A. Stewart, of the Baltimore bar, Speaker of the House of Delegates.

At this time Swann was still Governor, but he had for months been building his fences for his second Senatorial fight and placed great reliance upon the practical pledge of support given him by the Democrats in the Legislature preceding this one. There had been up to the time the Legislature convened no talk of anyone but Swann for the position as successor to Reverdy Johnson, and Swann's final message was written in the full belief that he would be chosen. It was taken into the Senate by Mr. John M. Carter, who was his Secretary of State, and the part following is worthy of being remembered.

"At the last session of the General Assembly prior to the adoption of the new Constitution, it was the pleasure of the representatives of the people to confer upon me a high Federal appointment. The defiant march of extreme radicalism was then going forward with its tramp of jubilant exultation and mysterious outgivings of an approaching finale which was to inaugurate military rule and negro suffrage in our State, hurl from their places every friend of constitutional government and bring back the reign of terror from which we so recently emerged. Standing at the helm of this good old State, at a period of so much anxiety, the people naturally looked to their Executive for sympathy and counsel in the impending crisis. I had no ambition as a loyal citizen but to maintain constitutional liberty in all proper measures, to serve my State and share the fortunes of her people. Throwing down the commission with which I was honored, I have remained at my post. Hunted with a venom to which the darkest ages of barbarism offer no parallel, I have gone on—I trust without faltering—to watch over your interests, to faithfully execute your laws and to defend your rights as a citizen of this great Confederacy."

Almost immediately after the receipt of this message by the Legislature the Senatorial fight began and candidates unexpect-

edly began to crop up in all directions. Montgomery Blair, William Pinkney Whyte, ex-Governor Pratt, ex-Governor Ligon and Reverdy Johnson all had their friends in the General Assembly and all figured in the contest. Early in the game, however, the formidable figure of William T. Hamilton loomed to the front. Turned down in the campaign just ended for the Gubernatorial nomination, Hamilton and his friends had been quietly but effectively at work and when the balloting began he showed a strength that dismayed and surprised the Swann forces. These fought with desperation and some vigorous and vehement speeches in behalf of the ex-Governor were made on the floor. Appeals were made to the gratitude of the Democratic representatives and they were called upon to be true to the man who had pulled their party out of the mire and placed it squarely upon its feet. These pleas, however, were in vain, and Hamilton was elected after several days of balloting. He was then 48 years old and had already served in Congress three terms, where he had made for himself a reputation as one of the best informed men in the country upon the tariff. His election was made the cause of a tremendous jubilation by his friends. Wine flowed like water at the Old City Hotel in Annapolis, and a champagne luncheon was given by Syester and other of Hamilton's friends, at which speeches were made and congratulations showered upon the successful candidate.

Swann's friends were greatly depressed over this, his second disappointment to land the Senatorship, and blamed his defeat upon the treachery of some of those upon whom he thought he could count.

It was not until after Bowie had been inaugurated and had taken his seat, the Legislature had convened and the Senatorial fight ended that Mr. Garrett "got wise" to the Pennsylvania scheme of breaking up his Baltimore-Washington monopoly. When he did he threw off his coat and pitched into the fight in earnest. The battle was over the legal construction of the "lateral" branches provision of the Baltimore and Pope's Creek charter and the bill which had been introduced defining this provision so as to permit the Pennsylvania to connect with Washington after the original road had been constructed. This bill had

the support of Governor Bowie and the State administration. Mr. Garrett marshalled his forces at Annapolis and every means possible was employed to beat it. It finally passed through the House and went to the Senate, and there for days and days it stuck in committee. Finally it was gotten out of the committee and was hung up in the Senate. Governor Bowie did everything he could to put it through, and was vitally interested. The Senate split up, and extreme bitterness was engendered by the fight.

One day, while the bill was still waiting its third reading, Governor Bowie, got a telegram from his home in Prince George's county, stating that his wife had given birth to a son. Naturally, he was agitated, but felt that he could not leave Annapolis until the fate of the bill had been settled. That night he invited several of the Senators who had been opposing the bill to the Government House and asked them as a personal favor to permit it to come to a vote on the next day stating that he wanted to go home and see his wife and son. Realizing that in the end the bill would be passed anyhow, the opposition Senators agreed to cut the debate short, stop filibustering and let a vote be taken. It was taken and the bill passed. Bowie went down into Prince George's county to see his new-born son and the Pennsylvania Railroad people began immediate preparations for the throwing off of the shackles with which they had been bound by beginning the construction of the road to Washington. John W. Garrett was mad clear through, but he was helpless and "licked." He did not stay in that condition, however, but renewed the fight at the following session and succeeded in handicapping the Pennsylvania very much, although not in repealing their charter.

This was not the only time the Pennsylvania bested the Baltimore and Ohio, although it was the only time during the reign of John W. Garrett. Some years later, Robert Garrett, who was in line to succeed his father as president and was then vice-president, saw an opportunity of securing control of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad by the purchase of a large block of the stock of this road held in Boston. He had practically completed the arrangements for purchasing this stock which

would have given him control and have successfully bottled the Pennsylvania road up. He was jubilant over the prospect. The night before the day he intended to consummate the deal he entertained a number of gentlemen at dinner at the Maryland Club. Wine flowed freely and Mr. Garrett unwise boasted that on the morrow he would have control of the Pennsylvania, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad. One of his guests, it is said, that night communicated with Mr. Scott then president of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Mr. Scott dispatched George B. Roberts, afterward president of the road, to Boston by special train. Mr. Roberts reached Boston and early in the morning bought for the Pennsylvania road the stock Mr. Garrett believed he had practically in his possession. Mr. Garrett's failure to secure control of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore and the Pennsylvania's success in doing so, ultimately forced the Baltimore and Ohio to build its own line to Philadelphia, and this, it is said, proved so tremendously expensive that it constituted the underlying cause for the financial troubles of the road that finally led it into the hands of the receiver.

## CHAPTER IV

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Formation of the "Ring," and the Election of Whyte as Senator.

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With Bowie as Governor, William T. Hamilton and George R. Vickers as United States Senators, Robert T. Banks as Mayor, a solid delegation in Congress, and a unanimous Legislature, the Democratic party at this period—1868—of the State's history was in the zenith of its power. In every public position in the State as well as the city, excepting only the Federal offices, Democrats were on guard.

The party was entrenched and impregnable. It had everything its own way. A tremendous and overwhelming majority of the white people of Maryland were uncompromisingly Democratic and the opposition party was disorganized, disheartened, without able leaders and without the support of any considerable number of white citizens. The conferring of the suffrage upon the negroes in 1870, while it reduced later the normal Democratic majority by many thousands, solidified the party to an extent that left but little hope for an independent movement. The party lines were strictly drawn and the men who voted with absolute independence of party could almost be numbered on the fingers of one hand.

At this time the late Severn Teackle Wallis, who in the fights to come shone conspicuously as the foremost and ablest independent in the State, was a regular of the regulars. Mr. Wallis was a unique figure in the politics of Maryland and for many years was a political storm center, fighting first on one side and then on the other. In 1875 he bitterly and vehemently attacked the Democratic party and its leaders and in the very next campaign—two years later—joined hands with the "ring" and took the stump for its candidate, speaking from the same platform with men in denunciation of whom he had pretty nearly exhausted the English language.

No matter which cause he championed, he brought to it a force and strength hard to overestimate. Brilliant, talented, witty, a master of satire and invective, his assaults upon the Democratic organization in campaign after campaign were powerful and effective. Many of his satirical speeches and letters were political epics and some of his characterizations and similes are remembered to this day. It was Mr. Wallis who characterized the late William Pinkney Whyte as a veritable "Pecksniff of politics," and insisted that Mr. Whyte had to carry heavy weights in his pockets to keep himself from ascending to Heaven like Elijah. A great many people still believe that Mr. Wallis was the person who conferred upon Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte the title of "The Imperial Peacock of Park Avenue," which clung to him for so many years and by which he is sometimes referred to even now by the few who do not admire him. But this is not the fact. Mr. Wallis, it is true, did occasionally say some caustic things concerning Mr. Bonaparte when he happened to be lined up with the Democrats, but as a rule he and Mr. Bonaparte were politically together after the independent movement in the State got into full swing. They were both conspicuous in affairs of the Civil Service Reformer, a virile and spirited publication that existed for some years and was devoted to waging war upon the iniquities of the Democratic administrations. The truth is it was Mayor Hodges who referred to Mr. Bonaparte as an "Imperial Peacock," and not Mr. Wallis, this remark being made in the course of the very heated campaign that resulted in the election of Mr. Hodges.

At the time Bowie was Governor, however, Mr. Bonaparte was not figuring much either in his own party or as a reformer. His chance did not come till later. In the year following Governor Bowie's election the Democrats again swept the State in the Congressional election, the successful candidates being Samuel Hambleton, from the First district; Stevenson Archer, from the Second district; Thomas Swann, from the Third district; Patrick Hamill, from the Fourth district, and Frederick Stone, from the Fifth district. The Republican candidates were Messrs. Henry R. Torbett, John T. Ensor, Adam E. King, Daniel Wiesel and William J. Albert.

Then came the campaign of 1869, when Levin Woolford, of Somerset county, destined to become a power in politics and later a member of the "Old Guard," ran as the Democratic candidate for Comptroller, and in this fight Mr. Gorman first appeared before the voters of Howard county as a candidate for the House of Delegates. Again there was an overwhelming Democratic victory, although not quite so pronounced as that of the preceding year. General Latrobe was re-elected to the House from Baltimore city and became Speaker of the House of Delegates at the session of 1870. Barnes Compton, the popular Southern Maryland leader, was again President of the Senate, and Woolford was Comptroller. Sanner, Hamilton, Cooper, Morse, Blake, Webb, Wilson, McLane, Colton, Kirk, Collins, Ehlen, Gardner, Markland and Hoblitzell were some of the delegates from the city in that General Assembly.

Except for the struggle between the two big railroads that session of the Legislature was not particularly eventful. There was no Senatorial fight, and Bowie was not a sensational Governor, taking no stand that aroused either violent condemnation or overwhelming praise. The administration of Governor Bowie however, did mark the forming of the nucleus of what afterwards became known as the "ring," so violently denounced by Mr. Wallis and others. Arthur P. Gorman, I. Freeman Rasin, John W. Davis, George Colton, Michael Bannon, Jesse K. Hines and others began to fasten their grip upon things at Annapolis, and to form a combination that worked together offensively and defensively for many years afterward. It was only the beginning then, but it took but a few years for this combination at Annapolis to wax so powerful as to arouse indignation throughout the State.

This session marked Mr. Gorman's debut in Maryland politics, and he took but little part in the proceedings of the Legislature. The one thing remembered by his friends of his course at this session was that he did not like Governor Bowie, and in the whole time he was at Annapolis never put his foot in the Government House. Two years after Gorman was elected to the House of Delegates Congressman J. F. C. Talbott made his appearance on the political stage in his county and was nominated

for his first office. He was a candidate for State's Attorney in 1871, and his opponents for the nomination were Col. David C. McIntosh, C. Bohn Slingluff and William S. Keech. On the fourth ballot in the convention at Towson Mr. Talbott was nominated. About the time of his nomination, which marked his first entrance into politics and started a political career that is without a parallel in the State, William Pinkney Whyte began his campaign for the Gubernatorial nomination. It was well known when Mr. Whyte started his fight for the Governorship that he had already determined to return to the United States Senate, and that if elected he would use the position of Governor as a stepping-stone. All of his friends understood this, and it was not a secret among the politicians.

At this time Mr. Gorman was a warm friend of William T. Hamilton, then in the United States Senate, and the man whom Whyte hoped to succeed. Gorman only became a candidate for the Legislature after he lost his job as Internal Revenue Collector for the Fifth district by reason of a change in the national administration at Washington. He was never a friend of Bowie's, and as has been shown was a Hamilton man in the convention of 1867. He was a strong Hamilton man when the Whyte campaign opened, and it was Mr. Gorman who went to Senator Hamilton and strongly advised him against espousing the cause of Whyte for the Governorship, pointing out to him that his own successor would be chosen in the middle of Whyte's term, and asserting that Whyte was beyond all question in the fight for the Governorship solely to gain the Senatorial toga, and would use his office as a stepping stone.

Governor Bowie and James T. Clark, the president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, were the leading figures on the other side of the fight. Bowie was a candidate for renomination, and Clark, using the canal company and its forces as a political machine, was managing his campaign. Back of them both was the Pennsylvania Railroad. It was really a continuation of the fight between the Baltimore and Ohio and the Pennsylvania. Mr. Garrett wanted to get Governor Bowie out and the Pennsylvania people, whose friend he had been, were equally anxious to keep him in. The Pennsylvania had not completed

its connection with Washington and was apprehensive of interruptions to its plans. The Baltimore and Ohio still had hopes, with a favorable Governor, of blocking the game. The Pennsylvania cars were still being hauled across town by horses, and the warfare between the two big corporations was at a deadly stage.

Hamilton was and always had been friendly to the Baltimore and Ohio, and he believed Whyte to be also. Gorman again advised him that he was making a big political blunder in favoring Whyte's nomination, and warned him that if nominated and elected Whyte would oust him from his seat in the Senate. Hamilton, however, ignored Gorman's advice and firmly believed he could place Whyte under such obligations to him politically that he would be unable to do aught against him after his election. He took his stand for Whyte and it was beyond all doubt Hamilton's influence in the Democratic convention of that year that secured Mr. Whyte's nomination. Without Hamilton's support he could not have been nominated. Up to the last minute Mr. Gorman protested, but when the final word was said by Senator Hamilton he acquiesced and fell into line for Whyte. Rasin, who was then rapidly gaining power in Baltimore city, was always with Whyte, and it was Whyte's control of the city organization that gave him the nucleus of strength with which he made his fight. With the Hamilton influence for him, however, it turned out to be no fight at all, and he landed the nomination without the slightest trouble. His colleagues on the ticket were A. K. Syester, for Attorney-General, and Levin Woolford, for Comptroller. The Republican ticket was as follows:

For Governor—Jacob Tome, of Cecil county.

For Attorney-General—Alexander Randall, of Anne Arundel county.

For Comptroller—Lawrence J. Brengle, of Frederick county.

Neither convention was particularly exciting, because the politicians on both sides had control, and the result was a foregone conclusion. With the Republicans the question at this time and for some years afterwards was to induce a suitable man to accept the nomination, and from 1867 to 1882, they had more dif-

ficulty in filling out their tickets with respectable men than in doing anything else. And they did not always succeed.

In most of the campaigns during these years they nominated only partial tickets, and in a number of the State and municipal elections put up no candidates at all, realizing that there existed absolutely no prospect of winning, except by fusing with a dissatisfied element in the majority party. Sometimes they fused with the "Citizens Reform" party; sometimes with the "Workingman's Party," and sometimes with the "O. L. D.'s," or "Old Line Democrats." In fact, in this period so hopeless was the Republican condition that they would fuse with most any disgruntled element of Democrats that chose to put up a set of candidates, and as late as 1879 R. Stockett Matthews, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, at a meeting of that body declared that the only question before it was whether it was possible to get a suitable man to run for Governor on their ticket. Personally, Mr. Matthews said, he had been unable to find one, and thought it better not to make any nomination unless something developed. The committee adjourned then to see whether a fusion with some wing of the Democrats would not be possible later on.

In the Whyte campaign Mr. Tome was the Republican victim, but he did not over-exert himself making a campaign. One big mass-meeting was held in the interests of the Democratic ticket at which Reverdy Johnson, S. Teackle Wallis, John W. Garrett, Robert T. Banks, W. G. Harrison, J. Hall Pleasants, John T. Morris and a number of other prominent party men took conspicuous part. A month prior to this Joshua Vansant had been elected Mayor by the Democrats by more than 7,000 plurality, his closest opponent being Charles Dunlap, who ran upon a "National Reform" ticket. The total vote polled in Baltimore City at that election was 29,159. This is but a few thousand more than the total number of negro voters in Baltimore today.

In the fall election for Governor the negroes had their first chance to vote for State candidates, and their ballots enabled the Republicans to break through the heretofore solid front of the Democrats in the Legislature. They carried four counties at this election—Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles and Prince

George's. It was in this year that Gen. A. Leo Knott, who had been one of the most stalwart and prominent Democrats during the days of oppression before the Swann administration, was elected State's Attorney of Baltimore city. John Lee Carroll, of Howard county, who later succeeded Bowie as Governor, became President of the Senate, and there were in both branches of the General Assembly many representative men.

Whyte's majority was more than 15,000, and from the date of his inauguration with the finesse of a master he played the game for the Senatorship. Every appointment he made was with that end in view, and politically at the time he was the one big dominant boss of the State. He had his hold upon the city as well as the greater part of the country organizations, and when the Legislature of 1874 assembled he was unanimously nominated in the Democratic caucus to succeed Hamilton as United States Senator. Hamilton's name was not even mentioned in the caucus at Annapolis, and Mr. Whyte's election was followed by a joyous demonstration, at which Mr. John P. Poe, then beginning his effective activities in the party, and a zealous Whyte man, made an eloquent speech. There was a general jubilation among Whyte's friends. Gorman's prediction had been fulfilled and Hamilton was hopelessly out of it. Severn Teackle Wallis' name was presented in the caucus, and he got one vote.

It is significant to note that Mr. Wallis was one of the vice-presidents at the mass-meeting in 1871 that indorsed Whyte's candidacy for Governor. Within three years he and Mr. Whyte became bitter enemies and remained so as long as Mr. Wallis lived. They assailed each other violently from the stump, and their personal relations were almost as hostile as their political ones.

Hamilton was greatly aggrieved at Whyte's course after his election as Governor and was his unrelenting and bitter foe from that time forth. One of the first things Governor Whyte did after he attained the Governorship was to remove James T. Clarke from the presidency of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company and through his control of the Board of Public Works substitute Mr. Gorman in his place. This weaned Gorman away from Hamilton and placed him in control of a most potent polit-

ical machine, which he used with consummate adroitness and skill to strengthen himself throughout the State. Soon after his election as United States Senator Mr. Whyte resigned as Governor, and James Black Groome was elected by the Legislature as his successor. With great thoughtfulness, Mr. Whyte carefully made all of his middle-of-the-term appointments just before stepping down from the Gubernatorial chair, thereby leaving his successor, Mr. Groome, nothing much to do during the brief remainder of his term except attend banquets and deliver diplomas and addresses.

Mr. Whyte, with his election to the United States Senate, came into the height of his power as a leader and a boss. He had Rasin, Gorman and the "ring" with him, and he ran things as he wanted. But all the while there was smoldering a volcano which rumbled ominously and which long before Mr. Whyte's term in the Senate had expired was in full eruption.

Right after Whyte's elevation to the Senate Hamilton, humiliated, sore and revengeful, turned his attention to State politics and began a campaign for the Governorship and kept it up unremittingly for six years before he finally landed it. The small band of independents that formed during the latter end of the Bowie administration began to grow and make themselves heard and felt. The absence of any serious opposition politically in the State had produced the inevitable result of abuses, and reforms were badly needed. The better element among the Democrats were in a rebellious mood, disgusted with the sordidness of political conditions and ready to do most anything except turn the State over to the Republicans. Hamilton stood for reform and better financial methods. He began his political career in 1846, when he was elected to the House of Delegates from Washington county. Then only 26 years old, he took a strong position in favor of the State paying its debts. In 1850 he was in Congress. He served three terms and was elected to the United States Senate in 1868.

Tall, wiry, brusque, extremely lacking in tact, but with a head full of brains and a backbone of steel, he had a following that had to be reckoned with, and that, turned down twice, waxed stronger and stronger until his nomination for the Governorship was fairly forced upon the managers, and for four years they had to

make the best of a Governor in whose eyes they found little favor and who made his appointments regardless of whether they pleased the leaders or not.

True, they hobbled him a great deal by retaining control of the Board of Public Works, which made some of the really important places, and of the State Senate, which was required to confirm all Gubernatorial appointments, but they were four fairly uncomfortable years for all that, and the politicians heaved sighs of relief when the day came for the final retirement of William T. Hamilton.

At this period Gen. A. Leo Knott was one of the leading figures among the Democrats of the State. As a member of the Legislature during Governor Swann's administration, and as State's Attorney for Baltimore City during the Bowie administration, he played an important part in the stirring developments of the day, and the details of the redemption of the State given in his book covering that period are of great interest. General Knott was nominated and elected Secretary of the Democratic State Central Committee for a long time he was intimately connected with the inside history of politics. His advice was sought, and in those days he rendered service to his party of tremendous value.

Another man who played a prominent part was James Young, father of ex-State Senator James Young. Mr. Young was a member of the Police Board appointed by Governor Swann and was jailed for some time during the political mix-up that followed the change in the board made by Swann. It was his son, the present ex-Senator Young, who, in his father's old printing office, printed the Democratic ballots the same color as the Republicans in the election preceding the Bowie campaign. The effective distribution of these tickets enabled the Conservative Democratic party to carry the election in the city in spite of the test oaths which had not been repealed.

## CHAPTER V.

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### The Celebrated Potato-Bug Campaign of 1875 and Its Results.

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The State campaign of 1875, which followed Whyte's election to the United States Senate, was beyond all question the hottest, the most bitter and the most memorable in the political history of the State. It marked the real beginning of the reform movement; it marked the beginning of the real leadership of Arthur P. Gorman; it marked the formation of that class of voters who have since been known as independent Democrats and who have in increasingly large numbers, voted the Republican ticket almost regularly ever since. In his last political utterance made at the Eutaw House when Dr. Joshua W. Hering was notified of his last nomination, the late John P. Poe characterized these men as those who "so strangely insist upon wearing our colors while marching in the ranks of the enemy."

It was known as the "Potato bug" campaign, and in some way or other the men who had revolted against the Democratic organization became known as "potato bugs." Just why is not quite clear unless the Democrats considered they were striped with yellow as a potato bug is. Congressman J. F. C. Talbott, who was a candidate for re-election as State's Attorney that year and suffered one of the few defeats of his political career, used to say, however, that it was because that summer there were in the county a plague of potato bugs that ate up the potato vines and destroyed the crop, and that it was because of their alleged desire to destroy the Democratic party the "independents" and "fusionists" in this campaign were called "potato bugs."

Enmities were made in this campaign that lasted a lifetime. Men left the Democratic party who never went back to it. The fight bristled with violence and abuse, and charges and countercharges were flung right and left. It was a tempestuous, whirlwind struggle that stirred the State from end to end and inflicted wounds some of which have not healed to this day.

The most conspicuous figure in the fight, towering above and overshadowing his colleagues in the fusion forces, was the late Severn Teackle Wallis, and he it was who riddled Whyte, Carroll, Gorman, Woolford, Compton and others of the organization leaders, denounced the lobby and the "ring" in unsparing and unstinted terms and was in turn denounced, challenged and abused. Personal conflicts occurred in a number of instances and feeling on both sides ran high. The State convention of that year was probably the most notable ever held by either party in Maryland. It lasted all day and all night, and it was in an uproar most of the time. Men who took part in it will never forget the scenes and the excitement of those two days. Prior to its meeting the campaign had waged with extreme bitterness for weeks.

The Democratic aspirants for the Gubernatorial nomination were John Lee Carroll, of Howard county, who was then President of the State Senate; James Black Groome, of Cecil county, who was serving out the unexpired term as Governor of Senator Whyte, and William T. Hamilton, of Washington county, whom Whyte had ousted from his seat in the United States Senate, fulfilling the prediction of Mr. Gorman and making Hamilton his life-time enemy. Mr. Gorman himself was a candidate for the State Senate from Howard county to succeed Carroll. Talbott had become the leader in Baltimore county and was fighting to succeed himself as State's Attorney. Rasin had been re-elected Clerk of the Baltimore Court of Common Pleas two years before and was slowly but surely entrenching himself and gaining power in Baltimore city. Senator Isidor Rayner was just becoming active in politics and was beginning to be recognized as a political orator. Whyte, Gorman and John W. Davis, who represented the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, were out openly for Carroll. "Mike" Bannon, the Anne Arundel county leader; Jesse K. Hines, of Kent county, then a power on the Eastern Shore, and others of the organization people were professedly for Groome, who likewise had his own county behind him. It was charged by Hamilton's friends that Groome was being used as a stalking horse and was in the field solely to get from Hamilton

votes that could not be obtained for Carroll, only to turn them over to Carroll later.

Senator Whyte, then the city boss, had swung the local leaders for Carroll, but that their sincerity was doubted by Carroll's friends was shown by the bitter assaults made upon the city organization before the primaries, it being charged that they were preparing to sell Carroll out. In a card published in *THE SUN* of June 26, 1875, this charge was indignantly repudiated, and it was asserted that an effort was being made to poison the mind of the public against Carroll and that this attack had emanated from the Hamilton camp. This card was signed by Messrs. Morris A. Thomas, John J. Mahon, P. A. O'Brien, John J. Quinn, Robert J. Slater, Harry A. Schulz, Thomas W. Campbell, John Cosgrove, James F. Busey, Fritz Buchheimer, F. Burgess Hines, Daniel Constantine, Thomas P. Kernan, and James R. Krager. Incidentally, it was one of the Kernans who some years later tried to shoot Mr. Rasin at Annapolis and was prevented by "Mike" Farrell, whom Mr. Rasin always regarded as having saved his life.

On the night of July 20 the clans from all over the State gathered at Barnum's Hotel preparatory to the meeting of the State convention. All three of the candidates had suites of rooms at the hotel and lavishly entertained the county and city delegates. Hot work was done in the corridors and the lobby, and the excitement was at fever heat. Both sides claimed the control of the convention, and it was recognized that it would be a fight to the last ditch, no compromise being possible.

Hamilton's friends included Gen. Joseph B. Seth, of Talbot county; Dr. C. R. MacGill, of Frederick; Daniel M. Henry, of Dorchester; E. B. Prettyman, of Montgomery; John Wethered, C. W. Rogers and others. With Groome were Henry McCullough, of Cecil; Jesse K. Hines, Jervis Spencer, George W. T. Perkins and others. Most of the big politicians by this time had come out from "under cover" and were openly with Carroll, and practically all the organization leaders were in arms against Hamilton, who was crying for reform and accusing his party of grave abuses. The night before the convention met Groome, as had been expected, got out of the fight and his forces went bodily

over to Carroll. The announcement of his withdrawal was purposely withheld until about 2 o'clock in the morning and then given out. Nor was the announcement made until Mr. Gorman and the man managing Carroll's fight had riveted the Groome delegates so they could not get away. This practically assured Carroll's nomination and the Hamiltonians knew it, but the thing was so close that they did not give up hope and, after a caucus at which the situation was considered and noses counted, determined to fight until the last gasp.

Right here is the place to state that Groome's withdrawal made it possible for Mr. Gorman to land the nomination for Carroll, and that Groome, as the price of his withdrawal, exacted of Gorman a promise to make him Senator to succeed United States Senator George R. Dennis, who had been elected as the successor of Vickers. This promise Mr. Gorman kept, and Mr. Groome did succeed Mr. Dennis. The keeping of this promise, however, cost Mr. Gorman the personal and political friendship of the late Albert Constable. Mr. Constable and Governor Groome were brothers-in-law, but they were anything but friends. When Mr. Constable, who had always been with Mr. Gorman, and was then the real leader in Cecil county—neither "Charlie" nor Austin Crothers having then come to the front—heard that Gorman was for Groome, he sought out Mr. Gorman and demanded to know whether it were true he proposed to make Groome Senator. Mr. Gorman said that he was for Groome, and Mr. Constable, then told Mr. Gorman that if he did make Groome United States Senator he (Constable) would fight him as long as he lived. Mr. Gorman kept his promise to Mr. Groome and Mr. Constable certainly kept his to Mr. Gorman, for from that time until his death he was never anything but the bitterest kind of an anti-Gorman man.

The convention met at the old Maryland Institute, the scene of so many stirring gatherings of the kind, on the morning of July 22. Thomas J. Keating, of Queen Anne's county, whose descendants in the county are now active in Democratic politics, called it to order, and Mr. John P. Poe, as secretary of the executive committee, issued tickets at the door to the delegates. This was the first convention of his party in which Gorman displayed his real strength; the first Democratic body in which he

took the lead and ran to suit himself. From the very start the fighting began, and from the start it was Gorman who managed and manipulated the Carroll forces. He it was who moved the previous question when the struggle over the organization of the convention began, and it was he who was made chairman of the committee on resolutions that framed the platform. The charge of attempting to enforce "gag rule" was promptly hurled at him, but he smilingly and suavely disclaimed any such intention, although firmly insisting upon his motion, and the test vote on this showed Carroll 20 votes to the good. It was Mr. Gorman who directed the course of the committee on credentials, and the unseating of the Hamilton delegates from Baltimore city by this committee practically made Carroll's nomination doubly sure. E. B. Prettyman, Hamilton's friend, then attempted to adjourn the convention, but Gorman quietly blocked this game and directed his energies to forcing the vote.

Stevenson Archer, always Gorman's friend, was chosen presiding officer, and the Carroll people finally succeeded in fully organizing the convention. The contest over the seating of the Baltimore city delegation was renewed by the Hamiltonians, but without avail, and after this had been finally settled Gorman again moved the previous question and tried to shove through Carroll's nomination without further delay. Then it was the Hamilton forces began to fight desperately and viciously for delay. E. B. Prettyman obtained the floor and proceeded to read from a manual on rules. He refused to be howled down, and the convention was in an uproar. The idea of the Hamilton leaders was by filibustering and delay to force an adjournment that would give them time for another assault upon the Carroll forces and a chance to break away some of the opposition delegates.

Confusion of the worst kind reigned, and a number of fist fights occurred which had to be suppressed by the police. Throughout it all, Gorman remained quiet, cool and determined. The uproar and excitement had no effect upon him, and he held his followers in line with an iron hand. Prettyman was finally suppressed, but at 8 o'clock that night he again obtained recognition and again proceeded to read from his manual on rules,

ignoring all attempts to howl him down and paying no attention to the cat calls and insults thrown at him, A recess was taken and the delegates again flocked to Barnum's Hotel, where the excitement increased and the feeling between the two factions grew more intense.

This recess was taken only when it suited Mr. Gorman's purpose to have it taken, and only after he had gotten everything out of the way except the nomination of the ticket. The platform had been put through, the report of the credentials committee had been adopted and the Hamiltonians allowed to orate until it was thought they had exhausted themselves. At the night session the Hamilton leaders again sparred for time and Gorman calmly held his forces together unshaken by the violence and turmoil around him, knowing that in the end he must win because he had the votes. Hour after hour the conflict lasted, the Hamilton men fairly burning the air with denunciation and invective. Soon after midnight Mr. Prettyman, once more began to read from his manual and pandemonium broke loose. He persisted in the face of what was almost a riot for half an hour, and then, becoming exhausted, quit. At 3 A. M. John Ritchie moved to take a recess until 10 o'clock in the morning, threatening that if this were not done the Hamilton delegates would withdraw from the convention and declaring in stentorian tones "God help the mackerel candidate who will rot and sink by 10 o'clock."

At this Mr. R. R. Vandiver, of Harford county, father of Gen. Murray Vandiver, rose and said: "I have been a Democrat for 25 years. I have witnessed Know-Nothing rule in Baltimore city, but I have never seen anything to equal the spirit of oppression that exists here." Mr. Vandiver was a supporter of Mr. Hamilton, and he and Mr. Ritchie were answered passionately by Mr. Henry E. Wootten, of Howard county, then a friend of Mr. Gorman's, but later one of his bitterest enemies, who said: "After all the indulgencies that have been accorded Mr. Hamilton's friend, if a threat of secession is made from them, why I want to say, in the name of God, let them go, let them go. No band of disorganizers can frighten me. Nor do I intend to be cowed by any set of wire-pulling, disappointed politicians."

By this time many of the delegates were asleep in their seats, but Gorman steadfastly resisted all motions to adjourn and finally the nominations were made. Mr. Wootten named Mr. Carroll in a highly eulogistic speech. Mr. Ritchie nominated Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. William M. Knight, of Cecil county, formally withdrew Mr. Groome's name as a candidate. Carroll was nominated on the first ballot, getting 60 votes to 50 cast for Hamilton. Baltimore city voted solidly for Carroll. Levin Woolford was nominated for Comptroller and Charles J. M. Gwinn for Attorney-General. The convention finally adjourned just before daybreak, the delegates being too utterly worn out to do more than seek their beds. Mr. Gorman, Mr. Rasin and John J. Mahon walked away from the convention together. As they walked up the street, although it was a tremendous victory for Gorman and he had then become the recognized leader so far as the politicians were concerned, there was about him no exultation, and he discussed the incidents of the convention almost as if he had been a spectator instead of a participant. The soreness of the Hamilton element, however, cannot be exaggerated, and Carroll's friends, even in their jubilation over his victory, felt concerned over the breach that had been made in the party and the bitterness engendered by the contest.

Almost immediately the movement for the organization of an independent party began. Mr. Wallis had at this time broken with Senator Whyte, whose participation in the convention itself, however, was small. Mr. Whyte used to tell in his later years how he had been aroused in the middle of the night and had got out of bed at 2 o'clock in the morning to go down to the convention and assist in the nomination of Mr. Gwinn for Attorney-General. Mr. Gwinn was one of the most remarkable men who ever held office in the State. A fine lawyer and a fine man, he was for many years Gorman's closest adviser and friend. He it was who wrote the Democratic State platforms year after year until the time of his death, when the late John P. Poe took up his task and ably carried it on. The death of Mr. Gwinn was a great blow to Mr. Gorman, and in the years that followed he greatly missed his counsel.

When the first big revolt against the party formed after Carroll's nomination Mr. Wallis took the lead and, with John K. Cowen, Henry M. Warfield, J. Morrison Harris and others, plans for a determined fight to defeat the "Ring" and break the control of the managers were made. Secret conferences were held in the city and the plans of the reformers were not permitted to become public until they had been practically completed and a State-wide fight outlined. Arrangements for a fusion with the Republicans were entered upon, and the movement culminated in a tremendous massmeeting on August 30 in the same hall where Carroll had been nominated. At this meeting Henry M. Warfield, the father of S. Davies Warfield, was nominated for Mayor on the "Citizens' Reform" ticket, and a complete city ticket nominated with him. Gen. Ferdinand C. Latrobe was the regular Democratic Mayoralty candidate, this being the first of his many nominations for this office. A massmeeting in his interest held on October 8 was characterized by speeches by Senator Whyte, Barnes Compton, Isidor Rayner and others. It was this speech of Mr. Rayner's that first established his reputation as a political orator.

Soon after this Mr. Wallis in an open letter flayed the Democratic leaders and John Lee Carroll in what was the most sensational political publication for years. He singled out lobbyists and called them by name. He charged that Carroll had been nominated by them for their own purposes, and he pitched into Whyte, Gorman, Woolford, Davis and others at a terrific rate. His arraignment of Mr. Whyte was a powerful one. "I know," he said, "that the common run of men sin ninety and nine times daily, whereas hardly a day passes that Mr. Whyte does not find himself compelled, like Mr. Pecksniff, to lay sudden hold on something heavy to prevent himself from ascending to Heaven."

Governor Carroll, a high-toned, high-spirited, honorable man who made a fine Governor, in an open letter indignantly hurled back the charges and innuendoes of the Wallis letter and called Mr. Wallis a slanderer, and intimated that he was a coward. Mr. Wallis made a heated rejoinder, and the interchange was a spectacular one. In October Latrobe defeated Warfield for the Mayoralty by a decisive majority. A contest upon the ground of

fraud was instituted, and there was a tremendous howl of protest, but this did not change the result, and the politicians were soon in the swing of the State fight. About this time the independents nominated their State ticket, as follows:

For Governor—J. Morrison Harris.

For Attorney-General—S. Teackle Wallis.

For Comptroller—Edward Wilkens.

The Republicans held their State convention at Westminster, but made no nominations, contenting themselves with an endorsement of the "Citizens' Reform" candidates and platform. The independent movement spread rapidly through the counties. Out in Howard Senator Gorman had a hard fight, and there was a fusion candidate against him—Mr. Henry O. Devries. Mr. Talbott had a stiff fight on his hands in Baltimore county, where the independent movement was particularly strong. John J. Donaldson, Alexander H. Robertson, Albert Constable, Edward Lloyd and many other well-known men were candidates for the Legislature in that campaign.

The strength of the revolt had forced the Democratic managers to put good men on the legislative ticket wherever they could find them, as the "Citizens' Reform" candidates were, as a rule, made up of high-class men. After the nomination of the full fusion ticket the fight got even more fierce. The big business men and lawyers of the city, such as Joshua and Eugene Levering, W. W. Spence, T. Wallis Blackistone and hundreds of others joined in the independent movement, and the Democrats were thoroughly frightened and were fighting for their lives. Hamilton and his friends in Western Maryland were, to put it mildly, indifferent to the success of the ticket, as evidenced by the fact that Washington county—then Democratic to the core—went overwhelmingly against Carroll. John Gill, John P. Poe and Harry Welles Rusk were among the candidates on the regular ticket for the House of Delegates in the city, and no stone was left unturned to win.

It has always been claimed and believed by a great many people that Carroll was not really elected, but counted in. Stories of stuffed ballot boxes and fraudulent votes, repeaters, trickery and violence have been told without number. The election, be-

yond question, was a turbulent and disorderly one. There were fist fights without end, firearms were used in many cases, blood was shed, and there were many arrests. There is one story that in the city a band of heelers smeared red ink or something else to represent blood over their faces and clothes and went from polling place to polling place with their pistols displayed to scare the negroes away from the polls and prevent their voting. Other stories of "roughing" the city were told, and are told today, but for the truth of these it is impossible to vouch. After the polls closed in Howard county, and Mr. Gorman satisfied himself he had carried his county for the Senate he came to Baltimore from Ellicott City and found Mr. Rasin, John Mahon, Slater and others of the city leaders in Rasin's office in the Courthouse. "We are licked," was the cry with which he was greeted, and a panic seemed to have seized the local leaders. Mr. Gorman put some nerve into the crowd and when the returns, belated for hours, began to come in from the Democratic strongholds, their confidence returned and it was realized that the city and State had been carried by a big majority.

It was an epoch-making battle and it taught the Democratic leaders a lesson, the gist of which was, notwithstanding their victory and their big normal majority in the State, they could not ride roughshod over the better element, and that there is a limit to what the people will stand.

From this point on until the day of his death, however, Mr. Gorman was the State leader, and his hold on the organization of the party and its loyalty to him never relaxed. Whyte was still in the Senate, and it was several years before he fully realized the extent of Gorman's control and power, and when the realization finally did come to him Gorman had ousted him just as Whyte had outsed Hamilton. As Hamilton never forgave Whyte, so did Whyte never forgive Gorman. On the day after Senator Gorman died Mr. Whyte was asked by the writer for some expression for publication as to Mr. Gorman, the man. Mr. Whyte asked to be excused, saying: "I never said anything good about him while he lived. I cannot say anything now. I do not want to be a hypocrite. Just do not say you saw me at all."

Probably what rankled with Mr. Whyte more than anything else when the time came and Gorman did succeed him in the United States Senate was the fact that it was he himself who had placed in Mr. Gorman's hands the means to gain the power he wielded, this being when he made him president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. It was the power thus given him, which Mr. Gorman wielded with a skill few men possess, building up a machine of tremendous strength and marvelous durability and binding to him the leading men of politics throughout the State, that made it possible for him to beat Mr. Whyte.

## CHAPTER VI.

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### Cleveland's Liking for Rasin and Rasin's Attitude Toward Gorman.

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The first Legislature following the election of Carroll—1876—was a tempestuous but really uneventful one. Mr. Gorman, after having served two terms in the House of Delegates, one as Speaker, was now in the Senate, and that Legislature was the first in which his control as the State leader was paramount. At this time Edwin Warfield was Register of Wills of Howard county, and he and Mr. Gorman were close personal and political friends. At this time Gorman had no warmer friends than the Warfields and the Watkins'. Thomas H. Hunt was another ardent Gorman man, as was Mr. Henry Wooten, later one of his bitterest enemies. The break between Mr. Gorman and Mr. Wooten was caused, it is said, by the activities of the late Eugene Higgins in Howard county. Mr. Wooten held Mr. Gorman responsible for what he claimed Higgins did, and fought him violently thereafter.

Still another hot Howard county Democrat in these days was the Hon. George Dorsey Day, who has for so many years now been an earnest follower and friend of Congressman Sydney E. Mudd. Not many persons will believe it now—probably, he has forgotten it himself—but Mr. Day was a hot Democrat in those days, as were also a few other Republicans now prominent in their party.

Up in Frederick county L. Victor Baughman was reaching for the Western Maryland leadership, and in the Carroll convention, although a Hamilton man, he made a conciliatory speech which placed him in a good position with the administration—so good, in fact, that Governor Carroll made him a colonel on his staff, which was the title by which his thousands of friends throughout Maryland affectionately knew him. In Southern Maryland Barnes Compton was the principal figure, while on the Eastern

Shore Jesse K. Hines, a brother-in-law of Marion de Kalb Smith, of Kent county, was a recognized power.

John Walter Smith, then an exceedingly young man, was just beginning his activities in politics in Worcester county, but did not become known outside of the county for some years after this. For a long time he ran the county with men much older than himself, like Dr. George W. Bishop, George W. Covington and Clayton J. Purnell, until one by one they dropped out, and he finally took complete control when he defeated Covington in what was the hottest and bitterest primary fight ever held in Worcester county. This fight occurred in 1890, just prior to the election of "Charlie" Gibson to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of E. K. Wilson, and Smith's victory in the primaries crushed forever the hopes of Covington of landing this prize for which he was undoubtedly a candidate. It also established Smith as the undisputed county leader, and as such he has remained. Since then his political career has been one of rapid and successful rise, until today he has achieved his political ambition, holding both a seat in the United States Senate and the State leadership in his party. A good many different reasons have been given for Senator Smith's political success, but back of them all are his absolute loyalty to his friends, his straight dealing and straight thinking, and the loveliness of the man himself. Those who are his friends stick by him to the last ditch. He is a living example that honesty and truthfulness pay in politics as in everything else. When he is on the crest of the wave they are his friends, and when he is down in the ditch of defeat they are still his friends, as witness the four-year period between his defeat by Mr. Rayner in 1904 and his election to the United States Senate in 1908.

That defeat was the only one in his career and it forms one of the most interesting stories in the whole history of Maryland politics. There are three ways of telling it—one the way Mr. Rasin used to tell it; another the way the Gorman men who stuck by Bernard Carter told it, and the third the way the Smith people told it. There are also some salient features not touched upon in any of these versions, and in a subsequent chapter an effort will be made to give the real story.

After the Rayner election there was never anything like real confidence between Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin. Mr. Gorman did not trust the "Old Man" and the "Old Man" knew it and he did considerable quiet knocking of his long-time friend between that period and his death.

"Gorman has been so long over there in Washington that he is out of touch with the people," he used to say.

That he was against the Poe suffrage amendment is a certainty, although he played the game both ways and deceived Mr. Gorman as to his real attitude up to the last minute. Mr. Rasin told "Dan" Loden to go out and be for the amendment, and on the same day, or the next day, he told "Bill" Garland to go out and be against it. Loden's club—the Concord Club—promptly indorsed the amendment, while a week later Garland's club—the Third Ward Democratic Club—passed resolutions condemning it. Mr. Rasin tipped the action of the Garland club the day before to the writer, who was then a reporter for *The Sun*, in order to get it in the paper. Afterward Mr. Rasin told Mr. Gorman and others he could not control Garland.

"I can't do a thing with the d—— fellow," he said. "He has gone crazy."

He also said many bitter things in the course of this campaign about State's Attorney Albert S. J. Owens, who, in opposing the amendment, was doing the very thing the "Old Man" wanted.

Mr. Rasin had a habit of referring to Mr. Gorman as "The State crowd," and of calling himself "The City people." "This State crowd," he would say in that campaign, "is trying to make the City people stand the brunt of this fight, and the rank and file are kicking all over town. Understand?"

About the middle of that August, 1905, Mr. Rasin, with his son, Carroll W. Rasin, as was his yearly custom, went to Saratoga. The newspapers all had it that the purpose of his visit was to see Mr. Gorman and that they were to agree as to the method of making the amendment fight. This is what really happened: Mr. Rasin and his son went to the Grand Central Hotel, where the writer was staying. Every morning Mr. Rasin sent Carroll up to the United States Hotel, where Gorman always stopped, to see whether he had arrived. After about a week of

this one morning Carroll returned and told his father, who was sitting on the porch: "Senator Gorman has registered, father. He got in last night." Mr. Rasin jumped up from his seat. "Come on, Carroll. We are going home," he said, walking rapidly inside. Within half an hour he had packed his trunks, paid his bill and was on his way out of the hotel. Just at the entrance he ran directly into Mr. Gorman. "Hello," said the latter, "I was just coming to see you. Where are you going?"

"Got to go home," said Mr. Rasin. "Been here for a week and can't stay any longer. On my way to the train now. If I had known you were coming I would have stayed over." Mr. Gorman turned around and he and Mr. Rasin walked to the train together. Mr. Rasin afterward admitted he had gone to Saratoga a week earlier than usual expressly to avoid Mr. Gorman, whom he was afraid would tie him up for the amendment before he was ready. Later Mr. Gorman came back to Baltimore, and before the campaign ended Mr. Rasin came out in a short interview for the amendment, but he knifed it underneath just the same.

This was not the first time Mr. Rasin deliberately broke away from Mr. Gorman and took his own head. There is that historic incident when he interfered with Mr. Gorman's Presidential aspirations by sticking to Mr. Cleveland in the national campaign of 1892 and swinging the city delegates from Maryland for him, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Gorman was almost openly a candidate and the Maryland delegation had along with it a trunkful of Gorman buttons. Because of the attitude of Mr. Rasin these buttons never saw the light of day, and what eventually became of them is still a mystery.

John J. Mahon tells this story of Mr. Rasin's attitude in this campaign: He said he and Mr. Rasin were at the Washington home of Mr. Gorman just prior to the convention, and were discussing the attitude of the delegation. After some talk Mr. Gorman, according to Mr. Mahon, said to Mr. Rasin: "Freeman, why not send the city delegates out there for me?" Mr. Rasin turned to Mr. Mahon and said: "John, did you see that man for me yesterday?" and then started in to talk about something wholly different before Mr. Mahon could answer. He never did answer Mr. Gorman's question, and Mr. Gorman looked

at him and did not repeat it. After they left Mr. Gorman, and were on their way back to Baltimore, Mr. Mahon said to Mr. Rasin: "Look here, Mr. Rasin, why didn't you answer Senator Gorman's question?"

"What question?" said Mr. Rasin.

"Why, when he asked you about sending the city delegates out to Chicago for him," said Mr. Mahon.

"Didn't hear him," was the reply, and Mr. Mahon says that was all Mr. Rasin ever did say on the subject, but the city delegates went out for Cleveland.

Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Rasin were always friends and while Cleveland was President he frequently consulted Rasin on political matters and Rasin was a frequent visitor to the White House. An instance of the closeness of their relations is given in the following letter, which is now in the possession of the Rasin family:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11, 1894.

[*Confidential.*]

*Hon. I. Freeman Rasin:*

Dear Sir—Mr. C. Morton Stewart is very much interested in a man named Jervis Spencer and has repeatedly asked me to appoint him to a small consular position. My sympathy is considerably aroused by what I have heard of Mr. Spencer's situation and I would like to please Mr. Stewart. I understand that Mr. Spencer is competent to fill such a place as I might possibly give him. If you know this, will you please let me know what you would think of his appointment to a place not involving very delicate or responsible duties?

Can you not send me a telegram signed "R." as soon as possible after the receipt of this, indicating whether you think well of it or not? Yours truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

This letter is in Mr. Cleveland's own handwriting and was one of a number of personal, confidential communications that passed between the two men. Mr. Cleveland would have at one time

appointed Mr. Rasin to the consulship at Berlin had he been willing to take it.

Although these doings are far removed from the Legislature of 1876, the story of the nomination of Mr. John K. Cowen and Cleveland's part in it may as well be told here. The man who really brought this nomination about was Mr. S. Davies Warfield, who was Mr. Cowen's warm and close friend, personally and politically. Mr. Warfield is said to regard the feat of getting Mr. Rasin to nominate Mr. Cowen for Congress a few months after Mr. Cowen had, from the stump denounced Mr. Rasin in unsparing terms, as about the smoothest piece of politics he ever played. Mr. Warfield was also a friend of Mr. Cleveland, under whom he served as Postmaster, and who thought a great deal of him. Mr. Cowen had been for some years pitching into Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin, particularly Mr. Rasin, but there came a time when he wanted to go to Congress. He could not go to Congress without being nominated first, and he could not be nominated unless Mr. Rasin said so. A few months before he had publicly said Mr. Rasin ought to be in the penitentiary. Mr. Warfield went to President Cleveland about Cowen's nomination, and induced Mr. Cleveland to send for Mr. Rasin to come to his summer home at Buzzard's Bay. Mr. Rasin went, and Mr. Cleveland asked him to nominate Cowen. Mr. Rasin came back and reluctantly gave the word for Cowen, and he was nominated and elected from a district in which he not even lived. He, however, was in Congress scarcely more than a day, as he had no sooner taken his seat, than he was chosen receiver for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and did not go back to Washington during his entire term.

All of this, however, is wide from the mark of the Legislature of 1876, and is getting far ahead of the story. In that General Assembly were a number of reformers and able men. John J. Donaldson, Alexander Robertson and many others were there and helped make things lively. The Republicans and the Fusionists rang the changes on the charges of fraud and a contest against Carroll was instituted, which, while giving opportunity for fiery and eloquent speeches, amounted to nothing in the end. Daniel Fields, of Caroline County, was President of

the Senate, and Louis C. Smith, of Washington county, was Speaker of the House. "Mike" Bannon represented Anne Arundel county in the Senate and Barnes Compton, a loyal Gormanite, was re-elected treasurer. No United States Senator was chosen at this session, and after the first furore of the campaign had subsided things went along smoothly. Carroll made a dignified Governor, and the immediate bitterness engendered by the fight over his nomination and election died out. In the fall following—1876—the Presidential campaign opened with Hayes and Tilden as the candidates for the Presidency. Once more the Democrats swept the State, giving Tilden nearly 20,000 majority, and electing all six of their Congressional candidates, as follows:

First District—Daniel M. Henry.

Second—Charles B. Roberts.

Third—William Kimmell.

Fourth—Thomas Swann.

Fifth—Eli J. Henkle.

Sixth—William Walsh.

The Republican Congressional candidates were Thomas A. Spence, J. Morrison Harris, W. W. Goldsborough, Dr. J. H. Butler, J. H. Sellman and Louis E. McComas. This was the first campaign in which the late Louis E. McComas figured. It was his first race for Congress, and he was defeated. He later developed a political career that so far as continuous officeholding is concerned eclipsed that of any other Republican in the State. In this fight, too, ex-Governor Swann, disappointed in his Senatorial aspirations, allowed himself to be again named by the Democrats in the Third district, and served several terms in Congress.

The next political mile post was the municipal campaign of 1877, which in some respects differs from any other ever waged in the city, and was marked by some significant and strange features. Gen. F. C. Latrobe had been Mayor for two years, but had fallen out with the local leaders, including Rasin, because of his move in abolishing the "Old City Yard," a nest for political hangers-on who fattened upon the city. The abolition of this yard was one of the best things for the city Latrobe ever did, but it threw out in the cold any number of political "dead ones,"

and earned for him the temporary hatred of the politicians. He was a candidate for renomination and made his fight in the primaries, but was overwhelmingly defeated by the organization, who put up Col. George P. Kane.

Colonel Kane had voted for Mr. Henry M. Warfield, the independent candidate in the 1875 campaign, and was not particularly liked by the local politicians. These, however, believed that under the circumstances it was necessary to "perfume"—a Rasin expression—the Democratic ticket, and Kane was selected as the proper man to furnish the perfumery. The independent movement against the organization again loomed to the front, and Mr. Warfield once more became the candidate of the Fusion party, the Republicans making no nominations. Warfield was nominated at a big massmeeting held on September 6, and in his speech of acceptance referred to the nomination of Col. Kane in this way:

"The Democratic party wanted a figurehead, the more popular the better, and Col. Kane has been put to the front of these political abuses as if with his stalwart frame and broad skirts he could hide the sight and stifle the stench of the corruption that lurks and works behind him."

This will give an idea of the character of campaign made by the reformers. William Reynolds, James C. Fenhamen, William J. Hooper, Joshua and Eugene Levering, Otto Duker, Evan Poultney, Charles A. Oudesluy, Joseph Wallace, William H. Ryan, R. M. Polk, Benjamin F. Gould, David Morrow, David S. Briscoe and many other prominent citizens of Baltimore flocked to the support of Mr. Warfield, but he lost his most influential and conspicuous friend, for, strange to say, S. Teackle Wallis, the chief figure in the 1875 reform fight, and the man who mercilessly flayed the organization and assaulted the leaders, arrayed himself this time on the side of the ring and supported Colonel Kane with as much vigor and fire as he had opposed Carroll and Latrobe. Mr. Wallis has often been severely criticised for this sudden change of front, and he never did wholly explain it. General Latrobe, who was never an admirer of Mr. Wallis, used to say that his flop over to the organization was solely due to his personal friendship for Colonel Kane, and that the knowledge that

Kane's nomination would gag Wallis was one of the reasons the organization selected him.

Just about this stage of the game there came a new and unexpected development. A "Workingman's party" was organized by a number of citizens not satisfied with the nomination of either Kane or Warfield, and this new party developed a sudden and surprising strength. Several tremendous meetings were held, and it finally nominated as its candidate for Mayor one Joseph Thompson, a blacksmith, and with him a full city ticket. The three-cornered fight was a hot one. There were good politicians engaged in the management of all three campaigns and excitement ran high. The blacksmith candidate made a whirlwind campaign, speaking in every ward and arousing a sentiment that frightened the organization leaders badly. On October 11 a big massmeeting in the interests of Kane and the Democratic ticket was held in the old Masonic Temple at which Mr. Wallis was the star speaker. He declared he had no apologies to make for his change of heart and emphatically denied that he returned to the fold as a repentant sinner. He said that Mr. Warfield was all right in his way, but quite mistaken, and that the election of Kane was imperatively demanded by the people. William A. Fisher and Robert M. McLane also made speeches for the Democratic ticket.

A week later William T. Hamilton, who from the day of his defeat in the Carroll convention had been engaged in strengthening his fences for the next fight, made a vigorous speech for the city ticket, with Senator Blackburn, of Kentucky, as an added attraction, the local leaders being so unnerved by the fight put up by Thompson that they deemed it wise to call in help from outside the State so as to arouse enthusiasm in the Democratic rank and file. The election was held on October 24. Kane, according to the returns, was elected by a plurality of 15,821. Warfield ran a bad third, receiving a beggarly support of only 536 votes, while Thompson polled 17,367. There was no Republican candidate and the fight in its last stages was wholly between Kane and Thompson. Warfield and his friends made a lot of noise and furnished the brains and weapons with which the organization was assaulted, but the strength lay with Thompson.

Any old politician who took part in that fight will tell you today that Thompson was elected, if he cares to tell you the truth. Almost immediately the charge of having counted Thompson ballots for Kane was made and generally believed. There seems to be no doubt that this was done, to some extent, anyway. Thompson and his friends asserted that all over town his votes by the wholesale had been counted for Colonel Kane. The blacksmith candidate, however, said he had no money with which to make a contest, and that he would never again be a candidate for office. During the campaign he was known from one end of the city to the other as "Honest Joe" Thompson. Soon after the election he was given a position as deputy clerk in the office of the Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas under Mr. Rasin, and thereafter was called by many "Ex-Honest Joe" Thompson.

It was at this election that the late Henry C. Fledderman, the registration expert, and for many years the leader of the Fourth ward, was elected to the City Council. The entire Council in both its branches was Democratic. John J. Mahon, who at this time had become a formidable factor in his ward, right after the inauguration of Kane secured the position of messenger to the Mayor. Colonel Kane died about one year after he had taken his seat, and General Latrobe, who by this time had made his peace with the organization, was nominated without opposition in the primaries and elected at a special election to fill out the unexpired term. Prior to obtaining his place as messenger to the Mayor John Mahon had been a clerk in the tobacco warehouse and doorkeeper of the City Council. Latrobe would have continued him as his messenger but Mahon, at this time, saw an opportunity to get the nomination for the First Branch City Council from his own ward and resigned. He was nominated and elected and served several terms.

## CHAPTER VII.

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The "Old Guard" and Its Power—The Break Between Gorman and Whyte.

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It was about 1878—that, with Senator Gorman at its head, the "Old State Guard" was formed. The "Old Guard" was composed of seven men, each of whom left his mark upon Maryland politics, some to a far greater extent than others, but everyone of them in a way not to be soon forgotten. There was Arthur P. Gorman, its chieftain and commander; I. Freeman Rasin, the crafty and powerful leader of Baltimore City; Jesse K. Hines, noted not only for his daring and courage, but especially for his unerring judgment of men, for which he was particularly utilized; Levin W. Woolford, of Somerset county, repeatedly nominated and elected Comptroller and a veritable political fox; Michael Bannon, of Anne Arundel county, the impersonation of force and a sort of political pile-driver in carrying through the measures of the ring; George Colton, clever, plausible and casuistical as a writer and apologist, and John W. Davis, whose connection with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad gave him a factitious power and effectiveness in the general political game in Baltimore city and on the Western Shore.

These were the men who clung to Mr. Gorman and under his guidance ran the machine, even while William Pinkney Whyte, with his seat in the United States Senate, and his habit of being the boss, still thought he was running it. No stronger or more exclusive political combination has existed in any State. From its formation, for more than a generation, it held the absolute control of the situation, holding fast its grip under the strain of many fierce assaults and passing through many a bitter battle, scarred but victorious. Death and death alone broke the power of this combination, and the passing of Mr. Rasin, still with his grip upon things and the undisputed boss of his party organization in the city, removed the last remnant of the "Old Guard," and brought about a new deal. He outlived them all, and in the

last few years of his life he felt his isolation keenly. Gorman's death shook him greatly, and from that time until he died himself he used frequently to refer to the fact that he was the last of the "Old Guard" and that soon he would be gone.

Prior to the election of Latrobe, after the death of Colonel Kane in 1877, the State conventions of the two parties were held and candidates for Comptroller and for the Legislature named. The Democratic candidate for Comptroller was again Thomas J. Keating, while the Republicans nominated Dr. Gabriel Ellis Porter. William Pinkney Whyte presided over the Democratic convention, and Meyer J. Block, now judge of the Orphans' Court, acted as sergeant-at-arms, with the late Morris A. Thomas as secretary. Joshua Vansant, who had been chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee for 16 years, called the gathering to order. At this time Gorman and Rasin had effected their political alliance, and were the two biggest factors, then as afterward, in the "Old Guard." Gorman was in reality the State leader, although Senator Whyte had not begun to suspect it, and believed at the time that he held the control himself, and that Gorman was with him. Rasin had gained great strength in the city, and although he had not then crushed out all of his rivals, such as Robert J. Slater and J. Frank Morrison, he was by far the strongest of the local leaders.

The convention was well managed, and there was much enthusiasm and no friction. Among the candidates for the State Senate on the ticket in this campaign were Robert M. McLane, of Baltimore, grandfather of the late Mayor McLane; George Peter, of Montgomery county; Herman Stump, of Harford county; Charles B. Calvert, of Prince George's county; Edward Lloyd, later Governor, of Talbot; and Littleton P. Franklin, of Worcester. United States Senator Isidor Rayner was on the legislative ticket from the city, this being the first time he ever ran before the people for an office, although he had been active as a speaker in Democratic campaigns for some years. Thomas B. McCosker, Eugene Higgins, B. L. Harig and Thomas P. Kernan were among his colleagues on the House of Delegates ticket. Ex-Governor Edwin Warfield had become a member of the State Central Committee from Howard county, his colleagues being

Thomas H. Hunt and John R. Clark. The late General L. Victor Baughman was a candidate for the House of Delegates from Frederick county, where he had now become the practical leader. The Democrats were on their good behavior, and Mr. Wallis, who was still with them, was led to the front and conspicuously shown on all occasions. He acted as vice-president at the ratification meeting, at which Mr. Whyte presided, and at which Philip Francis Thomas, Charles J. M. Gwinn and others spoke.

In Carroll county ex-Governor Frank Brown and Mr. T. Herbert Shriver had been nominated for the House of Delegates. Murray Vandiver was on the ticket in Harford, and Montgomery Blair had been named in Montgomery county. Samuel K. Dennis, father of Samuel K. Dennis, the secretary of Senator Smith and William Sydney Wilson were the candidates in Worcester, and John S. Tracey and H. H. Tyson in Howard. Among the hold-over Democratic Senators besides Mr. Gorman were E. W. Freeman, of Baltimore County; James A. Cooper and E. T. Joyce of Baltimore city; Thomas Humphreys, of Wicomico, and J. F. Lee, of Carroll.

The Workingmen's party again named a complete ticket, but the Democrats won easily and obtained complete control, as usual, of both branches of the General Assembly. This was the year when a good many of the men prominent in the party today, such as Frank Brown, Vandiver, Rayner, T. Herbert Shriver and others made their first appearance on the political stage and were elected to their first office.

The Legislature that followed—1878—was chiefly noteworthy for the fact that it saw the consummation of the deal between Mr. Gorman and James Black Groome, made at the nominating convention by which Groome got out of the field as a gubernatorial candidate with the understanding that he would receive the support of Mr. Gorman for the United States Senate, when Senator Dennis' term expired. As has been stated Mr. Gorman carried out his part of the deal. Senator Dennis was "thrown down" and Mr. Groome elected in his place after a bitter fight.

Senator Dennis had been elected six years before as the successor of Senator Vickers, of Kent county. His successor was

bound to come from one of the nine Eastern Shore counties, because of the law that had been on the statute books since 1804, providing that this section of the State should always have at least one member of the United States Senate from Maryland. Senator William Pinkney Whyte, who was Dennis' colleague in the Senate, was for him, but Gorman was for Groome, and had been for Groome all along. So was Rasin. So were Hines, Davis, Bannon, Colton and other members of the "Old Guard," some of them openly for him and some "under cover." It was a stiff fight, lasting a number of days, and there were numerous candidates. Among those voted for at the time besides Senator Dennis and Mr. Groome were Philip Francis Thomas, J. A. Wickes, Judge E. K. Wilson, afterward Senator; Judge James M. Robinson, Samuel Hambleton, Frederick Stump, Robert M. McLane, Montgomery Blair and E. B. Prettyman. Some of these were used by the manipulators as "stalking horses," "pacemakers" and blinds, while others were bona fide candidates.

The Republicans concentrated their votes upon Louis H. Steiner, although Gen. James A. Gary, then very popular in his party, received a scattering complimentary vote.

Senator Dennis and his friends made a valiant fight, but they did not have the votes. Nor did Senator Whyte, his friend, have the control he thought he had when it came to a "show down." Once or twice in the long-drawn-out struggle Dennis had victory almost in his grasp only to be foiled by the treachery of Eastern Shore Delegates supposed to be his friends. The "favorite son" game was worked most beautifully by Senator Gorman and Mr. Dennis' strength, which would have been solidly for him in an Eastern Shore caucus, was kept divided by this device, so that while a majority of the Eastern Shore Delegates wanted him he never was able to muster that majority in the caucus. With the backing of eight of the nine Eastern Shore counties there would have been no question as to his success, but the favorite sons prevented the lining up of the eight counties that had been counted upon, and strung the fight out day after day while they undermined Senator Dennis in the house of his friends. When the fight he was making finally appeared hopeless Senator Dennis had his name withdrawn in the caucus and his friends

tried to swing their strength to Judge J. M. Robinson, who had been in the field all along. This attempt, however, came too late, and Gorman, swinging his forces into a solid line, forced through the nomination of Groome in the caucus. Groome's election followed the next day, and Gorman had paid the political debt contracted when Carroll was nominated.

In the Congressional election of the fall following the Democrats for the first time since the Bowie election, when the party was placed squarely on its feet, failed to send a united Democratic delegation to the House of Representatives. This was the year 1878, when Congressman J. F. C. Talbott began his Congressional career. After having served his term as State's Attorney he had safely established himself as the Baltimore county leader and through the big majorities rolled up for the ticket in that county made himself a factor in the Second Congressional district. He was not, however, having the easy time of it then to keep his control that he had later or has now. There were stronger men in the county who opposed him, and once or twice the laurels of leadership were snatched away from him. But he always kept on fighting, and in the next round got them back.

Mr. Talbott's colleagues on the ticket the first time he ran for Congress were Daniel M. Henry, Eli J. Henkle and William Kimmel, all of whom were re-elected, while George Peter, of Montgomery county, was defeated by Milton G. Urner, the Republican candidate, by a majority of 1,500 votes. This was the first Democratic Congressional candidate the party had lost since 1867, and it greatly disturbed the managers. There are some persons who say the trouble between the Peter faction and the Jones faction in Montgomery county dates from this defeat of the elder Peter, who in some way held Col. Spencer C. Jones partly responsible. Robert M. McLane, afterward Governor and Ambassador to France, was elected to Congress from the Fourth district and Mr. Talbott's majority was about 4,000.

It was just after this election that the break came between Mr. Gorman and Mr. Whyte. It was over a comparatively trivial matter, but it created a breach that lasted a lifetime and that widened as the years went by, embittering both men. Many

different stories as to the cause of the rupture have been told and different versions are now given by the friends of Mr. Whyte and those of Mr. Gorman. The facts seem to be these: It was about this time that the Democrats secured control of the United States Senate. Gorman, who was then in the State Senate, but who loved the life at Washington with which he had been familiar for so many years, but who had at the time no thought of becoming a Senatorial candidate himself, desired the position of Assistant Secretary to the Senate. With the friends among the Democratic Senators he had in Washington he possessed an advantage over other candidates and with the support of his own Senators from Maryland there would have been no question but that he would have gotten the place. Groome was, of course, with him. Gorman came to Washington and asked Senator Whyte to support him for this place, Mr. Whyte told him that Senator Dennis, who had just been defeated for re-election by Mr. Groome, through Mr. Gorman, was a candidate for the position and that he was pledged to him. Mr. Gorman, it is stated, said to Mr. Whyte:

"I can get this place if you will support me. Dennis cannot get it either with or without your support. I want the place and I want your support."

Mr. Whyte declined to recede from his attitude and took the ground that he could do nothing but support Senator Dennis so long as he chose to be a candidate, although he had not advised his candidacy. Gorman again put it up to him squarely, and then finding him still unmoved, turned on his heel and left the committee room where the interview took place. He came directly to Baltimore, and it is stated that that night he told Mr. Rasin, Jesse K. Hines, "Mike" Bannon and one or two others that he was a candidate for the United States Senate to succeed Mr. Whyte.

This statement, of course, almost immediately got back to Mr. Whyte, and he was greatly amused. He regarded himself as practically impregnable. He had not then realized the strength of Mr. Gorman throughout the counties, and he looked upon his threat of being a candidate against him as more or less of a joke, refusing altogether to take it seriously.

With Whyte over in Washington deluding himself as to his security, Gorman started to work almost immediately. Casting his eye over the situation, he saw that if he were to make the Senatorship it would be necessary that the next Governor, whoever he might be, if not a friend of his, should not be a friend of Mr. Whyte's. Ever since his defeat for re-election to the Senate by Mr. Whyte, William T. Hamilton had been bitterly opposed to the organization. His fight for the Gubernatorial nomination against Carroll had strengthened him with the people and his reform ideas, had created a sentiment for him throughout the State which at that period had become almost irresistible. Gorman, with that keen foresight that distinguished him, saw that Hamilton's nomination was inevitable, that he was the only logical man in the field and that to attempt to turn him down a second time would be exceedingly hazardous. Realizing this, he determined to ascertain what course Hamilton would pursue toward the Senatorship fight in the event of his becoming Governor. Accordingly, steps were taken to ascertain Mr. Hamilton's attitude. One day in the early summer of 1879 Mr. T. J. C. Williams, at that time practicing law in Hagerstown in the same office with Mr. Hamilton, received a visit from the conductor of the Baltimore and Ohio train which plied between Hagerstown and Weverton. The conductor told him that a gentleman wished to see him on important business, and asked him to go down the road with him. Mr. Williams went, and when the train stopped on the edge of a woods near Weverton he discovered Mr. J. Jesse Moore, one of Mr. Gorman's canal superintendents and his political agent in Washington county, sitting on a stump awaiting him. Mr. Moore, after some "beating about the bush," asked Mr. Williams this question: "In the event that Mr. Hamilton should be nominated and elected Governor and Mr. Gorman and Mr. Whyte should be rival candidates for the Senate, who would Hamilton support?" Mr. Williams replied that he had no authority to speak for Mr. Hamilton, and he was sure that it would be useless to ask him for any pledge. "But what is your own opinion?" Mr. Moore asked. "My opinion," was the reply, "is that Mr. Hamilton would look on a fight between Gorman and Whyte as the woman looked on the fight between her husband and the bear."

He would refuse to take sides. Of that I think there can be no doubt." "That is all I want to know," said Mr. Moore.

This was also all that Mr. Gorman wanted—to be assured that Hamilton would not aid Whyte. He knew he could expect no aid from him for himself, but it was vital to his candidacy that the Governor be hands off in the fight between Whyte and himself. Whyte had offended Hamilton irrevocably when he used his position and power as Governor to oust him from the United States Senate and take his place, while Gorman had earned his enmity by helping Whyte to do this very thing, although he had warned Mr. Hamilton as to just what would be Whyte's course. Later Mr. Gorman had accomplished Hamilton's defeat in the convention of 1875. Knowing, therefore, that with Hamilton as Governor he as the State leader could expect little or nothing in the way of appointments or patronage for four years even if elected to the Senate, Mr. Gorman, ably assisted by Mr. Rasin and his lieutenants throughout the State, did their level best to tie Hamilton's hands by nominating as candidates for the Legislature and for other positions throughout the State, and in the city, only the straightest, strongest, truest kind of organization men, of the character sometimes referred to as "Muldoons." They also nominated for Comptroller Thomas J. Keating, and for Attorney-General Charles J. M. Gwinn. With Barnes Compton as Treasurer, this gave them the Board of Public Works, and with the House of Delegates and Senate entirely in the hands of their friends, they had Hamilton helpless to put through anything of a reform nature distasteful to them, and they were also in a position to prevent a confirmation of any obnoxious Gubernatorial appointments.

The year before Mr. Gorman had succeeded Joshua Vansant as chairman of the State Central Committee, and the conduct of the entire campaign was in his hands. The convention was the most harmonious and peaceful that had been held since 1864. Sentiment had so crystallized around Hamilton that no other name was mentioned in connection with the nomination. Col. Spencer C. Jones, of Montgomery county, another of Mr. Gorman's lifelong friends, was nominated for Clerk of the Court of Appeals with Hamilton, his nomination being brought about by the State's

Attorneys in the different counties, all of whom were Democrats and 13 of whom were old Confederate soldiers. Colonel Jones was a Confederate soldier and he was also State's Attorney for his county. His candidacy aroused the old Confederates all over the State to enthusiasm and his nomination went through with a whoop. The platform adopted was a reform platform, in harmony with Hamilton's views, and Hamilton's speech in accepting the nomination was a trenchant and striking one that enthused the people and put forth plans for economic reforms, many of which have since been carried out.

Edwin Warfield was a delegate from Howard county to the Hamilton convention, and it was two years later that he was elected to the State Senate to succeed Mr. Gorman.

Mr. Gorman himself was re-elected to the State Senate on the ticket with Hamilton, but had a hard fight to pull through, chiefly because of his inability to give personal attention to his own candidacy, his time being taken up almost exclusively with the management of the State campaign. The Legislature, however, was made up largely of Gorman's friends, and Senator Whyte had been caught napping. He awoke when it was too late—when the Legislature took from him the Senatorship and gave it to Gorman.

Incidentally, in this year Mr. Rasin was for the third time a candidate for the position of Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas and was for the third time elected. It was this year, too, that the late John P. Poe was a candidate for the House of Delegates nomination, but was defeated in the primaries. He was a Whyte man, and his desire to go to Annapolis was with the hope of helping Mr. Whyte. He was always a friend of Mr. Whyte's, even after he had become a friend of Mr. Gorman, and as between Gorman and Whyte at that time he was for Whyte. Later he became one of Mr. Gorman's most trusted and valued friends, and there was probably no man in Maryland whose counsel and advice Mr. Gorman valued more than he did that of Mr. Poe.

After Mr. Gorman's election to the United States Senate for a few years Mr. Charles J. M. Gwinn continued his work as the writer of Democratic platforms and the drafter of Democratic legislation, but upon his death the burden fell upon Mr. Poe, and

he personally wrote every Democratic platform adopted by the party from that time until his death, with the single exception of the platform upon which Crothers was elected. He did not write the Crothers' platform, but every other one from the date of Mr. Gwinn's death until his own was the product of his pen. Not only that, but practically every piece of election legislation enacted by the party since 1884 to 1908 knew Mr. Poe as its author. The Wilson ballot, which is in force in the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland counties was drawn by him. It was introduced in the Senate by the late Senator Joseph Wilson, of Prince George's county, but it was written and handed to Mr. Wilson by Mr. Poe. Prior to every State convention up to the time of his death it was the custom of Mr. Gorman, from which he never departed, to invite Mr. Poe and the late Thomas M. Lanahan, who wielded a tremendous power in politics, but worked "under cover" all the time, to his home near Laurel. There the three would go to go over the situation. Mr. Gorman would express his views and indicate what he wanted in the platform. Mr. Lanahan and Mr. Poe would suggest and discuss. An agreement as to the essential points would be reached and next morning Mr. Poe would return to the city and write the platform. Sometimes some changes would be made by the convention itself, but these changes were rare. Usually after Mr. Poe had completed the platform he gave it to Mr. Gorman. Mr. Gorman in his room at the Rennert would send for the man it was proposed to make chairman of the committee on resolutions and give him a copy of the platform, and that was all there was to it. Prior to this Mr. Gorman at the Rennert would send for Mr. Rasin, explain the platform to him, get him to agree, and that settled it.

The beauty and power of the language in these documents stands as a monument to the talent and ability of Mr. Poe, whose genius was recognized not only by the leaders in this State, but by national Democrats. It has never been published, and Mr. Poe himself was not the man to boast of it, but some of the more important parts of the national platform of 1904 were drawn by him.

At this convention David B. Hill, of New York, said to a member of the Maryland delegation, "That man Poe of yours is one

of the most wonderful men in the country." In Maryland a great many uninformed people regarded Mr. Poe, politically, as "slick," and numerous Democratic legislative and political tricks have been attributed to him. Those who knew him well knew that in the party councils he always stood for the straight thing, the honest thing, the direct method. He believed in straightforwardness and fairness. He was grieved when his party adopted other tactics. It is a fact that those who were in the conference know that Mr. Poe strenuously objected and strongly opposed in the so-called Poe suffrage amendment, the very provision that caused Governor Warfield to oppose it, and that really brought about its defeat.

This was the provision placing discretionary powers in the hands of the registration officials. He was overruled and bowed to the will of the majority as he always did. Yet men like William Shephard Bryan and nearly everyone else except those who know the truth about the thing believe that this provision was Mr. Poe's idea, and that it originated with him and was placed in the measure by him. The fact is—and it does not make any difference what anybody says—he was opposed to that provision.

The old story of the change of the word "veto" to "vote" in an election law and which got Mr. Poe for some time the title "Veto Poe," was another injustice done to this man and another injustice that he bore uncomplainingly, content if a few people knew the truth. It is a fact, too, that Mr. Poe was not in favor of calling the extra session that marked the term of Gov. John Walter Smith and resulted in the enactment of the present election law, which he drew. He doubted the wisdom of this action and said so at the conference. A good many people will not believe the truth about these things even now, but they are true just the same. No man in politics today in either party and no "independent" Democrat in the State was less in favor of political trickery or more in favor of a "square deal" than was John P. Poe.

## CHAPTER VIII.

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### The First Election of Gorman to the Senate.

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In subtlety and shrewdness the game that Gorman played in the Hamilton campaign and the Legislature that followed, resulting in his first election to the United States Senate and his establishment as the undisputed and supreme leader of the State, stands unmatched in the political history of the State.

Not only did it take breadth and courage to nominate for Governor a man—William T. Hamilton—whom he knew never would be his friend, but it required daring and skill of an extraordinary kind to so shackle that man through the legislative candidates placed on the ticket with him as to render him powerless for harm after his election. These two propositions, however, were simply compared to that of electing himself, then an inconspicuous and comparatively unknown man, United States Senator in place of William Pinkney Whyte, then in the vigor of his manhood, the height of his political career, with his commanding position, his record, the sentiment behind him and a State-wide public clamor for his re-election. Yet he succeeded, and he succeeded easily. He actually had votes to spare, and this first election of his was a greater tribute to his ability to manage men than any other of his later successes.

It is a fact that at the very moment a tremendous massmeeting of representative Baltimore citizens was cheering Whyte in Baltimore city and that statesman was gracefully yielding to the demand of the people and consenting to again take up the cares of public office in obedience to the public demand. Gorman was nominated in the caucus at Annapolis. Mr. John P. Poe was one of those who attended this Whyte meeting, he and Mr. Bernard Carter both being enthusiastic Whyte men. The meeting was held in the old Maryland Institute, and Mr. Poe often told how as he and Mr. Carter left the hall at the close of Mr. Whyte's address they met a reporter of *The Sun*, who told them that while

Whyte was speaking, word had come from Annapolis that the caucus had been held and Gorman nominated.

It is a really thrilling political story, and the odds against Mr. Gorman at the start was greater than those against which he ever afterward successfully coped. The campaign was one of factional strife and bitterness among the Democrats and the primary battles were far more hotly contested than the election itself. With his dual position as president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and chairman of the State Central Committee, Mr. Gorman adroitly aided his friends in the primaries, gaining a man here and there upon whom he could depend and binding to him in one way or another county leader after county leader, while Mr. Whyte, in fancied security, sat in his seat in the Senate and continued to be amused at the rumors brought him by his friends. There came a time, however, when Mr. Whyte realized the situation and the caliber of the man opposing him. About this time he announced that he would not be a candidate for re-election, giving personal reasons connected with his family as the ground for his withdrawal.

There are some persons who say the real reason was that Mr. Whyte "smelt a rat," and realizing that Mr. Gorman had completely undermined him, chose to withdraw in this way rather than subject himself to the humiliation of a defeat at the hands of a mere stripling in the political game. Others assert emphatically that no such fear animated Mr. Whyte, and that the private and personal reasons given by him were genuine and sincere. In all events he did withdraw, and later, at the demand of the people, withdrew his withdrawal and got back into the field just at the moment Mr. Gorman landed the prize.

But to tell the tale from the beginning:

One of the first of the Democratic county conventions, and by long odds the hottest held, was that of Anne Arundel county, where the Democrats were "fighting among themselves." There had been a heated primary, in which the Bannon faction, headed by Michael E. Bannon, and the Bond faction, headed by Gen. Frank E. Bond, had fought fiercely. The convention was held in Annapolis on July 30 and both sides clashed in an effort to gain control. Bannon attempted to call the convention to order amid

hoots, howls and shouts from the Bond element. At the same time Bannon tried to organize the convention General Bond gained the platform and tried to do the same thing. The Bannonites howled him down. He and Bannon glared at each other. Some man attempted to hand Bannon his credentials and General Bond seized them. There was a scuffle between the two men. A revolver was drawn and fired, two men were cut, four delegates jumped out of the Court-house windows and a lot more were bruised and maimed trying to get out of the doors, and there was a general free fight and a riot.

The trouble really grew out of the refusal of Bannon to place Bond's name before the convention when he was put in nomination for chairman. Instead he practically declared himself as chairman. General Bond grabbed the gavel, and again a struggle ensued, with more gun play and more knife work and jumping delegates. Finally the Bond faction withdrew in a body and, heaping epithets upon the Bannonites, retired to another hall and organized a rump convention. This was the first and bitterest of the many Anne Arundel county factional fights. As a result of the Bannon convention "Mike" Bannon himself was renominated for the State Senate and Dr. George Wells, "Sam" Acton and John F. Williams, now a well-known Baltimore lawyer, were named for the House of Delegates. James Revell was nominated for State's Attorney and Thomas S. Nutwell for Sheriff, with Sprigg Harwood for Clerk of the Court. This seems to have been the first appearance in politics of Dr. Wells, who is now the recognized leader in the county, and the first office he ever held.

After the disruption of the party at the Bannon convention a compromise was fixed up and another convention held, at which Bannon withdrew as a candidate for the Senate, Dr. Wells being nominated in his place. John F. Williams was acceptable to both factions and was nominated for the House of Delegates, and two other men upon whom both sides could agree were put on as his colleagues.

Out in Baltimore county William M. Isaac had been nominated for Clerk of the Court, David G. McIntosh for State's Attorney, William A. Slade for Sheriff and Oregon R. Benson for the

House of Delegates. The Republican candidates there included H. C. Longnecker for Clerk of the Court and D. Hopper Emory for State's Attorney. Mr. B. Frank Crouse, of Carroll county, the recognized leader of his county, was nominated for the House of Delegates by the Democrats of his county, with T. Herbert Shriver, who had been renominated. Ex-Mayor Thomas G. Hayes was on the ticket from Baltimore city, this being his first public office. Sydney E. Mudd was elected to the House as a Democrat from Charles county, with A. J. Chapman. Somerset sent Robert F. Brattan to the State Senate, Calvert sent John T. Bond, William T. Hepburn went from Kent, W. T. P. Turpin from Queen Anne's and John H. Cooper, William A. Fisher and William H. Bians from the city.

As has been stated, the Democratic State Convention was without friction, the sentiment so strongly crystallized for Hamilton that no other name was mentioned for the nomination. When on August 7 the Democratic clans gathered at Barnum's preliminary to the convention it was very much of a lovefeast. John Walter Smith, not then even a county leader, was a delegate from Worcester, with Samuel K. Dennis, George W. Covington and Dr. J. T. B. McMaster. Edwin Warfield represented Howard county, L. Victor Baughman was a Frederick delegate, Mordecai Price and B. Palmer Keating were there from Queen Anne's; Charles H. Gibson, Joseph B. Seth and Armond Hammond from Talbot.

James U. Dennis, of Somerset, seconded Hamilton's nomination after his name had been placed before the convention by John Ritchie, of Frederick. H. Kyd Douglas was chairman of the committee on resolutions and James L. Bond, Charles B. Roberts and Dr. E. W. Humphries were among the vice-presidents. Ex-Governor Elihu E. Jackson was one of the delegates from Wicomico, and William F. Applegarth was there from Dorchester. John F. Weyler represented the Third Legislative district in the city and was in those days as practical a politician as he is now a model penitentiary warden.

Marion De Kalb Smith, of Kent, was a member of the State committee from his county, and Dr. Frank T. Shaw was the most active and prominent member of the Carroll delegation. Dr.

Silas Baldwin, of Baltimore city, placed Col. Spencer C. Jones in nomination for Clerk of the Court of Appeals, and General Baughman nominated Mr. Gwinn for Attorney-General. The convention was managed in all its details by Mr. Gorman, who foresaw everything and directed every move.

A few weeks after this the Republicans met and nominated Gen. James A. Gary as their standard bearer in an uneventful, harmonious convention, and attention was then distracted for a time from State politics by the municipal campaign, the election for which, in those days, were held in October. Latrobe was given his third nomination and the Republicans nominated William A. Hooper. The "Greenback" candidate—Octavius L. Matthiot—was also put up, but he cut but little figure. The Democratic Councilmanic nominees were as follows, and it is an interesting list:

- First Ward—Dr. John D. Fiske.
- Second—Thomas H. Hamilton.
- Third—S. E. Atkinson.
- Fourth—W. J. Keith.
- Fifth—J. St. L. Perry.
- Sixth—D. Meredith Reese.
- Seventh—John M. Getz.
- Eighth—John Mears.
- Ninth—John J. Mahon.
- Tenth—Henry G. Fledderman.
- Eleventh—John Stewart.
- Twelfth—Daniel Giraud Wright.
- Thirteenth—James E. Weaver.
- Fourteenth—John S. Hogg.
- Fifteenth—M. E. Mooney.
- Sixteenth—Jacob Schenkel.
- Seventeenth—Henry Sanders.
- Eighteenth—James Broumel.
- Nineteenth—M. Alexander Miller.
- Twentieth—G. Harlan Williams.
- Second Branch—John F. Weyler and Dr. J. Pembroke Thom.

Massmeetings in the interests of both parties were held and both Carroll and Whyte pitched in to help the city Democrats out. "Honest Joe" Thompson, the onetime Mayoralty candidate of the Workingman's party, now held a job under Mr. Rasin and took the stump for Latrobe. Hooper made a first-class fight and came closer to winning than any Republican candidate since 1867, Latrobe's majority being reduced from 13,000 of two years before to 5,899.

The week following, the State election was held and Hamilton gained his goal by the tremendous plurality of 21,000, greater than that of either Whyte or Carroll, his two immediate predecessors.

Notwithstanding this big majority, the Republicans succeeded in gaining a fair representation in both branches of the Legislature. One of the leading Republican Senators elected was Lewis H. Steiner, father of Mr. Bernard Steiner, from Frederick. James H. Farrow, of Washington, was another, Balthaser Wolfley, of Garrett, another, and W. B. Hill, of Prince George's, another.

After the election and the inauguration of Hamilton Gorman still held on to the presidency of the canal company, and his fight for the Senate began to reach its climax. Through his control of the Board of Public Works his friends, Barnes Compton and Thomas J. Keating, forming a majority of that Board, his friend, Jesse K. Hines, was elected Insurance Commissioner and his friend, Levin Woolford, Tax Commissioner, both of these being powerful and influential positions with considerable patronage attached. His friend, Herman Stump, of Harford, was made President of the Senate, and Hiram McCullough, of Cecil, Speaker of the House of Delegates.

From the minute the Legislature assembled Mr. Gorman forced things. Whyte's friends were organizing the big citizens' movement to get him back in the field and Gorman well knew the force of public sentiment back of Whyte. On January 7 the Whyte massmeeting was held in the old Maryland Institute. Joseph B. Stafford called it to order and Decatur H. Miller presided. Some of the vice-presidents were Henry A. Thompson,

Henry E. Johnson, C. Morton Stewart, J. D. Kremelberg, Robert A. Fisher, Henry M. Warfield, Henry Clay Smith, Stephen Bon-sal, Robinson W. Cator, Joseph Friedenwald, William F. Lucas, Otho H. Williams, Charles L. Marburg, Charles A. Councilman, J. Randolph Mordecai, Bernard Carter, John P. Poe, A. G. Hutzler, Douglas H. Thomas, Joshua Levering, Henry James, Leo W. Gail, John C. Grafflin, Gustavus Ober, Thomas A. Whelan, Louis Seldner, Samuel Kirk, Alexander Rieman and many others equally well known. After the adoption of strong resolutions calling upon Mr. Whyte to make the fight and accept re-election a committee of five was appointed to wait on Mr. Whyte and escort him to the hall. Mr. Whyte appeared with the committee and was greeted with tremendous applause. After the cheering had subsided he said: "Thirty-two years ago I first accepted public office. Last spring, worried by labor and with a family prostrated by sickness and saddened by calamity I withdrew my name from consideration for re-election in a public card." Mr. Whyte then went on to say that in response to the call of the people as represented by the committee he would again sacrifice his personal feelings and enter the field. It was at the conclusion of the meeting that Mr. Poe and Mr. Carter learned of the selection of Gorman in caucus at Annapolis.

While Gorman was really chosen at this caucus the announcement of the action was held back and his formal selection was made at a more regular caucus held the next day. Ex-Mayor Hayes was a member of this caucus, and it was upon his motion that Murray Vandiver was chosen as its presiding officer. On the morning after the first caucus and just before the second caucus a committee of 20 of Whyte's friends went to Annapolis to present his claims. With them were John Gill, John P. Poe and many others not members of the committee. When they reached the State House, however, they realized it was too late. George H. Williams, of Baltimore county, was the man who nominated Mr. Gorman in the caucus and Robert F. Brattan, of Somerset, nominated Mr. Whyte. Senator William A. Fisher, afterwards judge, nominated S. Teackle Wallis. The ballot was as follows:

Gorman .....	54
Whyte .....	22
Wallis .....	3

Mr. Gorman was himself in the caucus as one of the Democratic State Senators, but refrained from voting. Those who were there say he watched the balloting as unmoved as if he had no interest at all in the outcome. It was Mr. Brattan who moved to make the election unanimous, and this was carried.

In voting for Gorman in the caucus Murray Vandiver merely carried out a promise made in 1878 when Groome was elected. At that time Vandiver was for Dennis, and Mr. Gorman was unable to get him to vote for Groome. Mr. Vandiver told him then, however, "If you are ever a candidate yourself, I will vote for you." This was practically the real beginning of their friendship, which lasted without a break until Mr. Gorman's death.

After Gorman's selection by the caucus *THE SUN*, on January 9, 1880, said this of the action of the Democrats:

"Mr. Gorman is a well-known political leader in the State. He resides in Howard county, which he has several times represented in the House of Delegates and the Senate. He was at one time Collector of Internal Revenue in the Fifth district, and has since the incumbency of Governor Carroll been president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Mr. Gorman is still a young and active man, not more than 41 years old, and has long been identified with public affairs in Maryland."

This was about all the newspaper comment there was concerning the relegation to the rear of the biggest man politically in the State and the elevation to the greatest office in the gift of the Legislature of a comparatively unknown quantity, but in those days the newspapers did not take the interest in, nor give the space to, politics they do now, and this event, so big with significance, passed practically unnoticed except for the comment given above. Yet it opened a breach between Mr. Gorman and Mr. Whyte that lasted a lifetime and that in bitterness of feeling can hardly be exaggerated. Certainly one of the most remarkable things in Maryland politics is the fact that 26 years later—a whole generation—Mr. Whyte should again have gone to the

United States Senate to fill the unexpired term caused by the death of Mr. Gorman.

Following the 1880 election the Democratic party almost immediately went into the throes of the national campaign and the State convention to select delegates to the national convention was held as early as June 7. Judge James McSherry presided and Charles C. Crothers, who had then become a big factor in Cecil county politics, although he had not at that time broken away from Albert Constable and was regarded as one of the latter's lieutenants, was one of the vice-presidents. Murray Vandiver, was one of the delegates to the convention, and took a prominent part in the proceedings. Under the control of Mr. Gorman, the convention selected the following delegates:

At Large—William Pinkney Whyte, Philip Francis Thomas, John Lee Carroll and Bernard Carter.

First District—E. E. Jackson and Richard D. Hynson.

Second—Wilmot Johnson and Charles B. Roberts.

Third—George Colton and James Bond.

Fourth—John W. Davis and William Keyser.

Fifth—John T. Bond and Barnes Compton.

Sixth—L. Victor Baughman and Lewis C. Smith.

The selection of Mr. Whyte was engineered by Mr. Gorman, who, although having gained his seat in the Senate, felt it the part of policy not to ignore his distinguished opponent, who was still a member of the Senate and entitled to the honor of being a delegate-at-large.

William Keyser, one of the delegates from the Fourth district, became later a violent and conspicuous reformer, who denounced the ring and the leaders with great vigor, spent his money and time to bring about their defeat and hated both Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin. At this time, however, he was a regular of the regulars, and his bolt came later, when, it is said, Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin could not see their way clear to nominate him for Governor, which was his one real political ambition. The Maryland delegates aided in the nomination of Hancock and in the election that followed the State gave him 18,000 plurality over Garfield. The Democratic candidates for Congress who were elected on the ticket were:

First District—George W. Covington.

Second—J. F. C. Talbott.

Third—Fetter S. Hoblitzell.

Fourth—Robert M. McLane.

Fifth District—Andrew J. Chapman.

The only Republican chosen was Milton G. Urner, of Frederick county. The late Enoch Pratt was one of the Republican candidates, but withdrew before the election.

This fight was quickly followed by the Mayoralty campaign of 1881, and here, too, Mr. Gorman played clever politics. It was really his idea that Mr. Whyte should be nominated by the city Democrats for Mayor, it being plain to Mr. Gorman that the forcing of Mr. Whyte into this position would be the most effective possible way of permanently sidetracking him as a political factor and preventing his coming again to the front as a State leader. Mr. Whyte was induced, principally by Mr. Rasin, acting under the hypnotic suggestion of Mr. Gorman, to take the nomination, and he had no opposition, either for the nomination or for the election.

An interesting incident in connection with Whyte's nomination for the Mayoralty was the visit paid him in the Senate by Governor Hamilton. Hamilton had had no use for Whyte since the time the latter ousted him from the Senate through the exercise of his power as Governor, the nomination for which had really been given him by Hamilton. Hamilton, however, for some reason had a bitter hatred of Ferdinand C. Latrobe. There was at this time talk of renominating Latrobe for the Mayoralty and Hamilton was anxious to prevent this. After giving the matter much thought he finally pocketed his pride and, leaving Annapolis, went to Washington. As a former member of the Senate he was entitled to the privileges of the floor, and he entered the Senate chamber and a page took his card to Senator Whyte, then a defeated candidate with but few more months to serve. Whyte saw the Governor and came forward to meet him. The two men sat down on one of the sofas around the walls of the Senate and had a long talk. This was the first time Hamilton and Whyte had spoken for six years. Hamilton told Whyte frankly that he would consider the nomina-

tion and election of Latrobe as Mayor a calamity and that he was anxious to prevent it, and asked him to use his influence to stop the renomination movement. At the end of their talk Mr. Whyte said: "That's all right, Governor. You need not worry. Latrobe will not be nominated." Later, when Whyte himself accepted the nomination, Governor Hamilton said to his friend, T. J. C. Williams: "He told me Latrobe would not be nominated, but he did not say a word to me about making the place himself." It is said by friends of Mr. Whyte today that one of his reasons for accepting the Mayoralty at this time was that he needed the money. His six years in the Senate had left him with practically no law business at all, his clients having deserted him, and he needed the salary.

The Republicans named no candidate and the fight was only over the Council. One vote would have been sufficient to have elected Mr. Whyte. The same condition existed in reference to Judge James L. Bartol, of the Court of Appeals, against whom the Republicans in this campaign placed no nominee. At this election John J. Mahon was again re-elected to the Council from the Ninth ward, W. Starr Gephart was elected from the old Fourteenth ward and Warden John F. Weyler from the Sixteenth ward. John M. Dulany became a member of the Second Branch and Major James W. Denny was elected to the First Branch from the Twentieth ward.

## CHAPTER IX

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Talbott's Clever Trick To Secure A Nomination. Legislature of 1882.

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Probably the most interesting feature of the Hancock-Garfield campaign of 1880 in Maryland was the struggle over the nomination for Congress in the Second Congressional district, then composed of Baltimore, Harford, Carroll and Cecil counties. This was the "main fight" and the eyes of the State were centered upon the nominating convention, which was held at Westminster. Congressman J. F. C. Talbott, then a young man, had been elected to Congress the first time in 1878. He had served creditably, made friends in Washington and outside, strengthened himself in his county leadership until he had become a factor to be reckoned with in State politics, and was now a candidate for renomination, basing his candidacy upon the ground that he was entitled to an indorsement by his district by reason of his record. But the other county leaders in the district did not see it that way and there was a tempestuous time before the convention met.

At first Talbott believed that he would have no opposition and that the men likely to become candidates in the other three counties would support him. He was early undeceived as to this, however, when three bona-fide candidates, each with his county behind him, appeared in the field—Albert Constable, of Cecil; Herman Stump, of Harford, and Charles B. Roberts, of Carroll county. About a week before the convention Talbott realized he could not be nominated, and came to Baltimore to talk things over at a conference held at the old Johnson Building in the city. There were present Senator Gorman, Robert M. McLane (then Congressman and always a friend of Mr. Talbott's), John W. Davis and Jesse K. Hines. Talbott explained that he could not be nominated in the convention, and the question arose as to who, then, had better be named. John W. Davis was strong for

Roberts, but Talbott, who had been led to believe by friends of both Roberts and Stump that they would not be candidates against him, emphatically declined to agree to this.

"Gentlemen," he said, "I may not be nominated, but Roberts won't be, either. If I cannot make it myself, neither of those two fellows shall have it. I am not going up there and nominate them. Neither one of them should run against me."

The conference adjourned with nothing settled. Mr. Talbott, with his Baltimore county delegates, went up to Westminster to the convention with no definite plan. Dr. George H. Cairnes was chairman of the Baltimore county delegation, and the six votes from that county were solid and enthusiastic Talbott men. It took ten votes to nominate in the convention, and Talbott had two "under cover" in the Carroll county delegation upon which he believed he could count in the "show down." The convention met, and the four candidates were balloted for many hours with no result. Recess after recess was taken and speech after speech was made, but the vote always stood: Talbott, 6; Roberts, 5; Stump, 4, and Constable, 4.

Mr. Talbott made up his mind early that, in the event of the impossibility of his securing the nomination himself, the next best thing would be to name the man. He had a friend in the Harford delegation, who, although a Stump man on the surface and forced to vote for Stump, was in reality a friend of Talbott's. Mr. Talbott told this man privately that he did not want him to do anything except when the time came that Stump expected the other counties—Cecil and Carroll—to vote for him, to let him know. After the two hundred and sixty-fourth ballot this man tipped Mr. Talbott that on the next ballot a break was to come and Stump be nominated. Mr. Talbott went into the convention and got Dr. Cairnes to move a recess, making the open statement that the reason for the recess was to give the Baltimore county delegation a chance to confer with the Carroll county delegation. Carroll county voted with Baltimore county for the recess, and the other two counties voted against it, but the combined vote of Baltimore and Carroll was more than enough to carry any motion or nominate any candidate. As soon as the recess was taken the Baltimore and Carroll county

delegations retired to a private room in the hall, and Mr. Talbott did the talking.

"Baltimore county," he said, "is now ready on the next ballot to vote for any Carroll county man except Charles B. Roberts. We won't vote for him because he ought not to have been a candidate against me, and I had good reason to believe he would not be. Any other man you want from your county, however, we will take. Name your man, and he will be nominated."

The Carroll delegation discussed the proposition a while, and then told Mr. Talbott they had no candidate to present.

"Well, then," said Mr. Talbott, "I will give you one—Frank T. Shaw."

There was more conferring among the Carroll delegation and Dr. Shaw was brought in and talked to. At first he declined to take the nomination on these conditions. Finally, when an agreement seemed impossible, one of the men in the Carroll county delegation, upon whom Mr. Talbott had always counted, got up and said: "I am tired of this business. Mr. Talbott is entitled to the renomination and we all know it. He comes in here now with a proposition to nominate a Carroll county man. If we cannot agree to this, I give notice now I am going into the convention and vote for Talbott. The other Carroll delegate friendly to Talbott indorsed this statement and took a similar stand. This break in their own delegation put the other Carroll county people "up in the air" and they at once capitulated. Dr. Shaw agreed to take the nomination, the convention was reconvened and he was placed in nomination by a Carroll delegate, who withdrew Mr. Roberts' name. He was nominated by the votes of Carroll and Baltimore county on the two hundred and sixty-fifth ballot. At the close of the nomination Mr. Talbott made a speech, which some of his friends say today was one of the best he ever did make. He declared the district had now established the one-term rule, and showed the injustice of such a precedent.

Now comes in the real politics of the fight. Dr. Shaw was at the time—and Mr. Talbott well knew it—Clerk of the Court in Carroll county. He had been elected the year before and had five more years to serve. About a week after the convention

at Westminster adjourned Dr. Shaw concluded he could not afford to run and formally declined to accept the nomination.

This left things "up in the air," so far as the other three counties were concerned, but it did not put Mr. Talbott "up in the air," because he had expected, and, in fact, planned this very thing. He knew Dr. Shaw could not afford to give up five years as Clerk of the Court for two years in Congress, and that when the time came to think it over he would not do so. So, pending Shaw's announcement, he had been at work and when the special convention was finally called at Havre de Grace Talbott was nominated by acclamation.

This was not the only stormy battle that Mr. Talbott had for his Congressional nominations in those days, and, in fact, there have been few, except those in recent years, for which he did not have to fight. He was renominated without much trouble in 1882, but in 1884 there came another memorable convention in this district—this time held at Elkton—at which 3,500 ballots were taken, resulting finally in the nomination of Dr. Shaw. This time Dr. Shaw held on to the nomination and was elected, then renominated and re-elected, serving two terms. Then Colonel Stump was nominated in 1888 and again in 1890, serving two terms, and Talbott did not again get the nomination until 1892. At that time he came in, and has been renominated every two years, with one exception, since. Gov. Austin L. Crothers, was a delegate to most of the district conventions from 1888 up to the time Cecil county was taken out of the Second and placed in the Fifth district, and it was the game played by the Cecil delegation that brought about the nomination of Stump in 1888.

During the years he was out of Congress, however, Mr. Talbott had more time to give to State and County politics, and he began to cement his friendship with Mr. Gorman and to make himself a bigger factor in State politics. He and Mr. Rasin got to be pretty thick, and when in 1884 Mr. Rasin had the really big battle of his life—the Brown-Hodges fight, in which his two chief rivals in the city, Robert J. Slater and J. Frank Morrison, supported Brown and he backed Hodges—Mr. Talbott lent the "Old Man" all the aid he could and fought for Hodges

with all his might. It was this victory that crushed Morrison and Slater and left Mr. Rasin the undisputed and supreme leader of the city—a position from which he was never dislodged.

One of the chief advocates and friends of Judge Brown in this campaign was the late S. Teackle Wallis, the reformer, who was the leading Brown speaker in the campaign. Mr. Talbott, in the course of the fight, quoted a remark made some years before by Mr. Wallis to the effect that there was "nothing certain about Judge Brown, but his doubts." Mr. Wallis never did deny that he had said this, but in his next speech he referred to it in this way: "I noticed in the newspapers that a person named Talbott is quoted as saying that I had made some statement not of a complimentary nature concerning Judge Brown. I do not know this young man Talbott and the only time I ever saw him he was very drunk and very boisterous."

The next night Mr. Talbott spoke again in the city, and, after quoting his statement and Mr. Wallis' reply, said:

"Mr. Wallis says that the only time he ever met me I was very drunk and very boisterous. I want to say that Mr. Wallis' recollection is correct. We were both very drunk."

Mr. Talbott, of course, had never seen Mr. Wallis, nor had Mr. Wallis seen him, but Talbott certainly had the last word in the controversy, as Wallis did not reply. Had he done so, Mr. Talbott was prepared to "come back" with the statement that Mr. Wallis was too drunk really to remember the occasion.

To return to the 1881 State fight: that followed the election of Whyte as Mayor. For an off year it was an unusually hot campaign. The Republican State Central Committee met on September 8. Some of those present were: Frederick Stone, Col. J. Parran Crane, C. Irving Ditty, William J. Gill, Henry Lingenfelder, John F. Gore, James Massey, Henry R. Torbert, Dr. L. H. Steiner, Dr. George D. Mudd, Dr. George Zimmerman, Louis E. McComas, Dr. E. C. Baldwin, W. Schoefield, Alexander McCormick, B. G. Stonestreet, Dr. J. J. Weaver, Col. W. A. McKellip; Trueman Willing, of Howard county; C. F. Purdham, Samuel Mallalieu; John T. Hand, of Queen Anne's; Hance Lawson, of Somerset; John L. Milburn; James M. Leach, of St. Mary's; Samuel E. Foskey, and Solomon T. Huston, of Wicomico.

ico; H. E. Challus, of Howard; Major A. M. Hancock, J. C. Robinson, and R. B. McCoy, of Harford; Arthur Shriver, of Allegany; James W. A. Derry, of Dorchester; Charles T. Westcott and J. Frank Wilson, of Kent.

The question of a candidate for Comptroller and the prospect of electing him were discussed and the date fixed for the State convention.

The "O. L. D.s" in the city were making things warm for the regular organization, and in the primaries held for the election of delegates to the State convention of the Democrats, bolted, held a massmeeting and chose delegates of their own. They had a committee of one hundred, of which George W. Benson was chairman and William H. Love secretary. Joseph T. Heuisler James Broumel, Eli J. Henkle, B. B. Knell and James Maddox were active members of the committee.

The Democratic State Convention was held in the old Masonic Temple on June 23, and Thomas J. Keating was renominated for Comptroller, but not without a vigorous protest. Gorman, as chairman, called the meeting to order, and in a speech eulogized the party record. Dr. Thomas Opie, of the city delegation, was temporary chairman and Messrs. James Hodges and Joseph Heuisler, not delegates to the convention, at once demanded a hearing for the "O. L. D." contesting delegates.

Mr. Bernard Carter led the fight that followed. He called Heuisler and Hodges to account for attempting to address the convention when neither was entitled to the floor. Gen. Joseph B. Seth supported Mr. Carter and demanded the rollcall.

Hodges and Heuisler interrupted the call of the counties to reiterate their demand for a hearing, and there was great confusion. Cries of "Sit down!" "Shut up!" and "Put them out!" from the regulars mingled with the cries of "Let them alone!" "Go ahead!" from the O. L. D. element in the gallery. Mr. Carter, tall and erect in the center aisle, held the floor, although Mr. Hodges, in spite of the uproar, continued to address the chair. He and Mr. Heuisler elbowed and pushed their way through the crowd until they reached the stage and then reiterated their demand for justice at the top of their voices.

It was at this juncture that Police Marshal Jacob Frey took a hand in the game. He seized Mr. Hodges by the arm and ordered him to desist, at the same time suppressing Mr. Heuisler. There were high words between the men, but quiet was finally restored. Mr. Carter then spoke strongly, insisting that the contesting delegates had no standing in the convention and, having bolted the party primaries, had no right to appeal for a hearing to the convention. Mr. Keedy, of Washington county, also a brilliant speaker, defended the O. L. D. delegation, urging that the standing of Mr. Hodges and Mr. Heuisler as citizens gave them a right to a hearing. Finally the committee on credentials was appointed, with Mr. Carter as its chairman. Mr. Hodges again offered his credentials, but the chairman declined to recognize him, and Mr. Keedy finally took the papers and offered them himself. Mr. Carter at once seconded Mr. Keedy's presentation and the credentials were received. The committee, however, promptly rejected them, though not before a vigorous protest against the nomination of Mr. Keating had been made. Keating was nominated by Hattersley W. Talbott, of Montgomery county.

The Republicans met later and renominated Mr. Gorsuch as their candidate for Comptroller without much enthusiasm and with very little hope of electing him.

The election was held on November 8 and Keating won by a majority of about 15,000. The Democrats also retained complete control of both branches of the General Assembly, Murray Vandiver was again a candidate for the House of Delegates in Harford county, but was defeated by William B. Baker. Col. Herman Stump, candidate for the State Senate, was also defeated by Mr. Edward M. Allen, of Harford.

There were in the House and Senate of that year (1882), however, many well-known men, some of whom are prominent in their party still. Here is the complete list of the Senate.

Allegany County—William Brace, Rep.

Anne Arundel—Dr. George Wells, Dem.

Baltimore City—John H. Cooper, Dem.; W. H. Bians, Dem., John Gill, Jr., Dem.

Charles County—F. M. Lancaster, Rep.

Calvert—John T. Bond, Dem.  
Carroll—Henry Vanderford, Dem.  
Cecil—Levi R. Mearns, Dem.  
Dorchester—Henry Lloyd, Dem.  
Caroline—A. B. Roe, Rep.  
Garrett—George W. Wilson, Rep.  
Baltimore County—George H. Williams, Dem.  
Harford—Edward M. Allen, Rep.  
Montgomery—James T. Moore, Rep.  
Talbot—I. Davis Clark, Rep.  
Howard—Edwin Warfield, Dem.  
Frederick—Lewis H. Steiner, Rep.  
Kent—William T. Hepburn, Dem.  
Queen Anne's—W. T. P. Turpin, Dem.  
Somerset—Robert F. Brattan, Dem.  
Washington—Joseph Farrow, Rep.  
Wicomico—J. Augustus Parsons, Dem.  
Worcester—George W. Bishop, Dem.

Edwin Warfield had been elected from Howard to fill out the unexpired term of Mr. Gorman. Edward Lloyd, who became Governor when Mr. McLane went to Paris and later became judge, was the new representative in the Senate from Dorchester. Wells, Hepburn, Turpin, Bond and Brattan were holdover Democrats, as was George H. Williams, of Baltimore county, who again became President of the Senate. The Republicans made a net gain of four Senators and nine members of the House, as compared with the session of 1880. Otis Keilholtz, of Baltimore city, became Speaker of the House, the personnel of which included:

Allegany—B. L. Turner, C. F. McAleer, John Falkin and C. F. Hetzel, Reps.

Anne Arundel—Dr. George W. Hammond, Samuel G. Acton, John G. Hopkins, Frank A. Bond, Dems.

Baltimore City: First District—Thomas B. McCosker, August Berkmeier, Charles R. Hamilton, James Young, Harry Welles Rusk and Levin F. Morris, Dems.

Second District—John H. Handy, Patrick Reilly, John A.

Ostendorf, Edward M. Kirkland, Aquilla Greenfield and Henry Duvall, Dems.

Third District—Otto Keilholtz, Charles J. Werner, B. L. Harig, Henry A. Schulz, Andrew A. Rose and Joseph G. Johnson, Dems.

Baltimore County—Andrew Banks, E. J. Farber, John S. Gittings, Jr., J. G. Bosley, Wilmot Johnson and J. W. Burton, Dems.

Calvert—George W. Dowell and James C. Chaney, Reps.

Caroline—James Green and Thomas W. Jones, Reps.

Carroll—D. A. C. Webster, J. W. Berret, Edward W. Leeds and Henry Galt, Dems.

Cecil—Duncan Veazey, James A. Lewis and W. B. Rowland, Dems.

Charles—Sydney E. Mudd, S. G. Lancaster and W. D. C. Mitchell, Reps.

Dorchester—W. S. Sherman, J. H. Johnson and W. T. Stapleton, Dems.

Frederick—B. D. Chambers, Charles L. Wilson, Dr. T. E. R. Miller, Peter Lugenbel and Joseph E. Webster, Reps.

Garrett—Samuel J. Beachey and Howard M. Kemp, Rep.

Harford—James B. Preston, David Wiley, Dr. Silas Scarborough, Dems., and Wilbain B. Baker, Rep.

Howard—Robert A. Dobbin and John T. Hardy, Dems.

Kent—Samuel Cavy and T. A. Hulme, Dems.

Montgomery—Joseph Dyson, Thomas Waters of S., Dems., and John H. McDonald, Rep.

Prince George's—Alvin M. Bond, Rep., Charles H. Stanley and John Gourlay, Dems.

Queen Anne's—A. Randolph Weedon, William C. McConnor, Dems., and Joseph Mallalieu, Rep.

Somerset—Robert H. Croswell, John T. Miles, Dems., and E. R. Grenby, Rep.

St. Mary's—L. H. Canter, and J. N. Graves, Reps.

Talbot—Robert B. Dixon, W. H. Councill and W. S. Grace, Reps.

Washington—W. B. Kelly, George A. Davis, George W. Pittman, Reps., and V. D. Miller, Dem.

Wicomico—E. E. Jackson, King V. White and Thomas J. Twilley, Dems.

Worcester—B. Jones Taylor, J. T. Coston and Elijah T. Bowen, Dems.

It was a session of factional strife, and there were some bitter struggles. Whyte, although defeated, was still a power and still had his friends, who were fiercely hostile toward Gorman and anything that Gorman wanted. A tremendous struggle ensued over the Police Reorganization bill and over the Police Commissioners. This was the session that saw the big fight made for reappointment as Police Commissioner of Gen. James R. Herbert, Gorman and Gorman's friends, one of whom was Edwin Warfield, were for Bians. Failure to elect Mr. Bians was construed as a defeat for Mr. Gorman, and there was a general mixup. Jesse K. Hines, who had been a strong Gorman man at this session acted with Whyte, and the relations between him and the Gorman people were strained. Rasin was for Herbert. No one would tell where George Colton was. He had some votes and he could get some more. Mr. Rasin finally got him in line by having introduced by a city delegate a "public printing" bill which would have been exceedingly obnoxious to Colton, who was always interested in the public printing contract. By holding this bill over his head Rasin kept him in line. He worked the same plan with Mr. Colton later in reference to the reassessment bill, which he wanted to defeat.

There was also a big fight over the new registration law and over the Supervisors of Election named by Hamilton. Altogether it was something of a reform session, and the fights were mainly over party promises and reform measures urged by Hamilton. Governor Hamilton toward the last was in poor health, and on the last day of the session Mr. Charles H. Stanley, who was in the House from Prince George's county, told this story. He met Governor Hamilton over at the executive mansion, and Hamilton said:

"Well, you are all going to get away from here today, are you?"

"Yes," said Mr. Stanley, "we adjourn today."

"Well," replied Hamilton, "I will certainly be——glad to see the last of you."

## CHAPTER X

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### The Long and Bitter Warfare Between John K. Cowen and Arthur P. Gorman.

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It was in the campaign that followed the Legislature of 1882 that there first came to the front in Maryland politics the formidable figure of John K. Cowen, than whom there have been few more remarkable men in this or any other State. It was in the "New Judges" fight that he first took an active part in the politics of the city or State, but thereafter there were few campaigns in which his influence was not forcibly felt either openly or covertly. His was a tremendously potent figure and his impress upon the affairs of Maryland was a deep and lasting one.

There are many men in the State who consider John K. Cowen the intellectual superior of any man who ever lived in Maryland and who believe had he devoted himself to the service of the public with the same energy, devotion and ability he served the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company he could have been President of the United States. Those who knew him best are convinced that had he chosen a public career there would have been no limit to the heights he would have attained. In brains, courage, eloquence and force he was a wonderful man, possessing marvelous powers and talents such as are given to but few. The part he played in Maryland politics and the power he wielded have been but little understood and never fully told. It cannot be completely told even yet, and there are deals he put through that probably never will be revealed, but it is a fact that up to date, anyhow, the Republican party in Maryland never won a complete victory except when Cowen furnished the brains and the money for their fight.

Mr. Cowen's father was an Irish blacksmith, who lived in the upper part of Cecil county. He moved to Ohio before John K. Cowen was born, and it was from that State that Mr. Cowen

went to Princeton University, where he was in college at the same time as Judge J. Upshur Dennis, Judge George L. Van-Bibber, Judge J. A. C. Bond and a number of other men prominent in Maryland today. There, too, were T. Harrison Garrett and Robert Garrett, who became his life-long friends and associates.

Mr. Cowen's first appearance on the Princeton campus is described by those who saw him as a memorable one. It is said he wore a cheap straw hat, a muslin shirt, a black alpaca coat, a frayed linen vest, soiled linen trousers and cowhide boots. He was tall, gaunt, with reddish hair and a fringe of reddish whiskers encircling his face. In a word, he was a guy and he was guyed on the campus and in the classroom, when he first came in. The statement is made, however, that in the classroom when he was first called upon he arose and gave such a perfect recitation in Greek that the man who had been at the head of the class, realizing in a minute that all chance for the honors he coveted had gone, swooned. Cowen graduated from Princeton with the third highest honors ever obtained from that University. Aaron Burr obtained the first, Theodore Pryor, of Virginia, the second, and Cowen the third. It was while in Princeton, as has been stated, that Mr. Cowen formed his friendship with the Garretts. He was poor at the time and helped pay his way through the university by tutoring the Garretts. While at Princeton he took part in the Presidential campaign of 1868 and stumped part of New Jersey for Seymour, the Democratic candidate. After his graduation he returned to Ohio and gained admittance to the bar there.

When the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad determined to go West, John W. Garrett wanted a lawyer from that section, and on the suggestion of T. Harrison and Robert Garrett, telegraphed Cowen to come on. Cowen appeared at the old Baltimore and Ohio Building, dressed not very much better, it is said, than when he first entered Princeton, and still with his gaunt look. John W. Garrett came out of his office to meet him and was introduced by the late William Keyser, then Vice-President of the road. "Bill, he doesn't look much, does he?" are said to have been Mr. Garrett's first words of greeting. Re-



JOHN K. COWEN.



gardless of his looks, however, Mr. Cowen entered the employ of the road as assistant to John H. B. Latrobe, then its chief counsel and the father of Gen. Ferdinand C. Latrobe. He served it steadily and devotedly until it broke his heart and he died. His friends have always believed that it was his mind and his devotion that saved it from disaster not once or twice but many times and enabled it eventually to rise out of the mire into which it had sunk and attain its present greatness and strength.

Although Mr. Cowen had played considerable politics in Maryland in the interests of the railroad prior to 1882, it was in the new judge fight that he first became conspicuous. Even in that, however, he did not enact the leading role he took in other fights, although he supported the new judge ticket with vigor and made a number of speeches, the most notable of which was at Hollins Hall, where, with Archibald Stirling, Sebastian Brown and J. S. Heuisler, he enthused a large crowd and unsparingly denounced the "ring" and its leaders. The chief object of attack in that fight was William Pinkney Whyte, then Mayor, and the man really back of the old judges. The real politics in the fight was the fact that Arthur P. Gorman was secretly behind the new judge movement, in which were enlisted all the professional reformers and the leading independents in the city, with one notable exception—Henry M. Warfield—who supported the old judges. Although out of the Senate and in a way sidetracked from State leadership by the mayoralty, Whyte still had many influential friends in politics throughout Maryland and one of the chief sources of his power was his closeness to the Supreme bench in the city, the members of which, it was claimed, were entirely subservient to him and completely under his control. One of them was his brother.

Gorman recognized that so long as this situation existed Whyte must remain a factor. Therefore, when the new judge movement started, even though Rasin and the entire city organization was on the other side. Gorman and Gorman's friends "under cover," of course, aided in every way they could that movement. Thus it was that John K. Cowen, William L. Marbury, Archibald H. Taylor, Charles J. Bonaparte, Major R. M. Venable, Joseph Packard, Randolph Barton and many others

of the leading lawyers of the city played Gorman's game for him and really strengthened his hands when they crushed Whyte's power by defeating the old judge ticket. Probably they would have made the same fight had they known the real politics back of the two tickets because it was a far more vital matter to the members of the Baltimore bar that the bench should be removed from the "polluting touch of party politics," as Mr. Marbury expressed it in a speech in that fight, than that either Gorman's or Whyte's political prestige should be enhanced, provided the enhancement did not come from the subserviency of the judges. The personnel of the candidates on the new judge ticket put this out of the question and if Gorman's real attitude had been known it would have made no difference with these men. But it was not known and for that very reason was much more effective and forceful, contributing no little in bringing about the result. About his attitude there is no doubt. He was behind the independent movement from the start and he ardently desired and worked for the election of the new judge ticket, but he hid his hand so skillfully that as astute a gentleman as Major Richard M. Venable in a speech at Broadway institute, coupled Whyte and Gorman together and denounced them both as the bosses.

It is said that Cowen was one of the few of those on the stump for the new judge ticket who knew Gorman was back of it, and that its victory would strengthen Gorman as the State leader, but at that time the Baltimore and Ohio was not unfriendly to Gorman, and it was to Whyte. It was in 1884 that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and Mr. Cowen turned on Mr. Gorman, and began to fight him with a bitterness and fervor that lasted for years. In the Legislature of that year the Pennsylvania Railroad had a bill designed to exempt two express trains from the law requiring the railroad to carry passengers without charge from one side of the Susquehanna river to the other. This bill was defeated and the Pennsylvania Railroad people foresaw that unless they became politically friendly with Mr. Gorman, and Mr. Gorman with them, their interests were likely to suffer at Annapolis. A political alliance was effected between Mr. Gorman and the road and Mr. Gorman from then on was always

friendly toward the Pennsylvania. As soon as the Baltimore and Ohio people realized this, it forced them to fight Gorman and they for years used every effort to break his power, but unsuccessfully. Notwithstanding Gorman's great strength in the organization and outside, Cowen's brains and ability as a fighter and the great power of the corporation he represented were gradually weakening him and making it more and more difficult for him to put things through in the State in the way he wanted.

In 1891 Frank Brown became the candidate for Governor, and the Legislature of 1892 was the one in which Gorman's successor in the United States Senate had to be chosen. He had been re-elected in 1886, and this was now the close of his second term. The story is that Gorman was anxious to have as little trouble as possible and that at the beginning of the State campaign United States Senator Charles J. Faulkner, of West Virginia, a warm friend of Mr. Gorman's and a railroad man himself, went to Mr. Cowen and asked him to use his influence to have the Baltimore and Ohio withdraw its opposition to Gorman's re-election to the Senate and to Gorman's power in the State. It is stated that Mr. Cowen agreed to this with the understanding that the Baltimore and Ohio interests in the Legislature were not to be antagonized by the Democracy at Annapolis. At this time the Baltimore and Ohio had a number of important legislative matters in contemplation, such as the Belt Line tunnel and others. There was, it is said, an agreement made not to harass the Baltimore and Ohio at Annapolis. Frank Brown was nominated and enjoyed the unusual privilege of selecting his own opponent, it being well known that his friends were mainly responsible for the nomination of William Vannort, of Kent county, as the Republican candidate. Brown was elected almost without opposition by the overwhelming majority of 31,000, and the Legislature was overwhelmingly Democratic and for Gorman. Gorman was re-elected to the Senate and for several years thereafter matters in the Democratic party went along smoothly. There were no wild outbreaks of the independents, no formidable reform movements and no real dangers menacing

the Gorman-Rasin control of the party. Cowen was quiet and the Baltimore and Ohio was satisfied.

The break came in 1894. For some time prior to this the railroad companies in the East had a sort of pooling agreement, whereby they pooled their receipts and divided them *pro rata*. This caused a great deal of agitation and resentment. It was clearly illegal and yet was greatly desired by the railroads. In 1894, after Cowen had been elected to Congress, but before he had taken his seat, a bill to legalize this pooling of receipts, known as the Railroad Pooling bill, was introduced into Congress, and Mr. Cowen went to Washington to push it through. It was a tremendous fight, and Mr. Cowen, it is said, had engaged Mr. Rasin to aid in the fight. Mr. Rasin spent most of his time while the bill was under consideration in Washington, as did Mr. Cowen. On the floor of the House of Representatives Champ Clark, of Missouri, called Mr. Cowen down for "lobbying" for this bill on the floor. After a big struggle it was got through the House of Representatives and went to the Senate, where it was referred to the Committee on Commerce, of which Gen. M. C. Butler, of South Carolina, was chairman. Toward the close of the session General Butler called this bill up. Mr. Cowen was on hand, and Mr. Rasin, expectant and confident of easy victory, sat in the gallery. As soon as General Butler called for the bill Senator Gorman rose from his chair. He was then the second man on the Committee on Appropriations. He said that he recognized that this bill was an important one, involving large interests, and that it should be passed. He said it was a meritorious measure—but—it was now near the close of the session, and there was scarcely time to give to the appropriation bills the consideration they demanded. In the appropriation bills were involved matters of even more importance to the whole country, and under the circumstances, therefore, deserving as the pooling bill was, he asked that the appropriation bills be given the right of way. That was all he did, but it was enough. The appropriation bills were taken up the other bill was sidetracked, and the session closed, and Congress adjourned without its ever again appearing. Gorman had simply killed it, and Mr. Rasin sat in the gallery and watched it die. It was a great shock to him.

It has been said—with what truth it is impossible to say—that had the bill passed Mr. Rasin's fee was to have been \$75,000, and it is further said that he never did really forgive Mr. Gorman for his course in this matter. Certainly Mr. Cowen never did. He regarded the understanding with his road as having been violated, and coming back to Maryland the next year jumped into the fight against Mr. Gorman and his ticket, and fought him with extreme bitterness to the day of his death. It was Cowen's brains and the money that Cowen raised that, more than any other agency but one, beat the Democratic party in 1895, and the same was true in 1897, when Gorman was defeated for re-election to the Senate. It was Cowen who more than any other single individual placed the Republican party in power from 1895 to 1899, giving to the Republicans the only Governor and the only two Mayors they have elected since the Civil War. It was he who organized, directed and financed those fights, and it was he who led the insurgent forces on the stump. He was the brains and the backbone of these campaigns, and daringly and brilliantly he led them. Also it was he who managed and maned the fights of 1896 and 1900 against William Jennings Bryan in Maryland, and the last public speech he ever made was made in the 1900 fight at a big massmeeting in the Lyric. It was a masterful and magnificent speech, in which he lampooned *The Sun*, which was then supporting Bryan, and riddled "the Peerless One" with sarcasm and scorn.

One of the greatest political speeches Cowen ever made in his life, and one that more clearly showed his courage and personal magnetism than any other, was made in 1895 in Westminster. At the regular election in 1895 in Carroll county, Pinkney J. Bennett had been elected on the Democratic ticket to the State Senate. A few weeks later he died, and the Democrats, calling a special convention, nominated Dr. Joshua W. Hering, the present State Comptroller. A special election was to be held and the campaign, although short, was hot. Mr. Cowen was an admirer and friend of Dr. Hering, and was invited to come to Westminster and make an address in his behalf. Fresh from his battle against the "ring" throughout the State, John E. Hurst having been defeated for Governor, and the State turned over

to the Republican party, he came to Westminster to face a crowd of regular organization Democrats.

When he was introduced and walked to the front of the stage, it was apparent that his audience was an intensely hostile one. They looked upon Cowen as the man who had committed, to them, the unpardonable crime of turning the State over to the Republicans. Mr. Cowen faced the crowd and folded his arms. The animosity toward him was open. The crowd was sullen and resentful. His first words were: "I have no apologies to make." He then began his speech and the crowd sat tense, thrilled and interested, rapidly forgetting its hostility in the charm of the man. As he went on and on, they grew more and more interested, and when he wanted to stop they refused to let him. He spoke on and on, swaying the crowd with him to a man. He tried repeatedly to stop, but the outburst of protest prevented, and he spoke for three hours and a half, it being nearly midnight when he finally closed, with the cheers and enthusiastic plaudits of the big crowd ringing in his ears. During the whole course of his speech not a man left the hall, and at the end no man withheld from him the tribute the speech compelled.

It is said that no greater tribute to a public speaker has ever been paid in Maryland than was paid John K. Cowen that night in Westminster by this audience of organization Democrats, who started out by hating him, then refused to let him stop speaking, and at the close of three hours and a half gave him as enthusiastic ovation as could have been given any man.

Another spectacular incident of Mr. Cowen's political career occurred in the Brown-Hodges fight of 1885, when he supported Judge Brown, the independent candidate for Mayor as against Mr. Hodges, who, although he had been a rampant reformer, had been taken up and nominated by Mr. Rasin for the Mayoralty. It was in this fight that Slater and Morrison supported Brown, and Rasin had the biggest battle of his career, the successful termination of which crushed out all real opposition to his leadership within the organization, and left his rivals without a leg to stand on. It was in this campaign that Mr. Cowen, at a big massmeeting in the interest of Judge Brown's candidacy, had "Bill" Harig, the man who shot and killed James J. Mahon, and "Charlie" Goodman appear on the stage and tell of the

frauds they had practiced, the tricks turned and the repeating done by them at the instance of the "ring" and for the "ring" candidates. The recital of these things by these two men, both of whom are living today, was a thrillingly dramatic one. Mr. Cowen stage-managed the whole thing, and it was about as effective a political bomb as has ever been exploded in Maryland, although it did not succeed in electing Judge Brown. Exactly how he secured the confessions from Harig and Goodman, and what inducements were used to persuade them to appear on the stage and relate these things, are not, of course, known, and can only be surmised, but the whole affair created a tremendous sensation, and frightfully alarmed the politicians, who were uncertain as to what would be sprung next.

There was also the time when Mr. Cowen, in 1887, went into the Republican State Convention, carrying with him the Independent Democratic vote, and there made a dramatic speech, with the promise of delivering it to the Republican candidate.

Other instances of his originality, daring and brilliancy in playing politics could be multiplied, and others will be told later. This sketch and these incidents of his career have been given because it was in the new judges' fight that he first appeared on the stump in a political campaign in Maryland; and it is the detailed story of that fight which will be told of in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER XI.

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### The New Judgeship Fight and Its Significance—Bernard Carter and the Part He Played.

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The “new judges” fight was one of the really epoch-making political battles of Baltimore, although it had a Statewide significance. It was the first campaign in which the Baltimore *SUN* made a fight outside the lines of the Democratic party. It marked the first defeat of the “ring” and the first success of an independent movement in the State since the Civil War. It marked the end of the dominance of United States Senator, then Mayor, William Pinkney Whyte in the local organization and it made clear for the first time the fact that no matter what else they would stand the independent voters and the independent press of the city will always insist upon the divorce of politics from the Supreme Bench. It was a lesson that was driven home hard, and that has never been forgotten by the politicians.

Occasionally since, it has had to be repeated in small doses when here and there an isolated attempt to inject politics into the judiciary has been made, but the temper of the people was so unmistakably indicated in that fight that the hope of obtaining a subservient bench has never since been seriously entertained by either the Republican or Democratic managers. It was a great fight and a great victory, big with significance and far-reaching in its results. Perhaps its success would not have been so overwhelming had not the “ring” been, to some extent, divided and had not the independent movement and judicial ticket been secretly backed and supported by United States Senator Gorman. That was the real inside politics in the fight.

Everyone knows now that Gorman was behind the independent movement. At the time there were exceedingly few who knew it, and Mr. Gorman, without a word, took his share of abuse from the independent orators on the stump along with Whyte and Rasin. All the time he was working assiduously to elect the

new judge ticket. And his reason was that he realized the defeat of the old judges meant the end of Whyte as a political factor, the removing of the last chance of his again rising to the front as a State leader and a United States Senatorial possibility. There are some who took part in that fight who also believe that Mr. Rasin was not wholly at heart for the old judge ticket, but this belief does not seem to be borne out by the facts, and the chances are that Mr. Rasin was sincerely for the old judges.

The biggest figure in this fight was that of Mr. Bernard Carter. He really led the independent movement and took a more prominent and active part in that campaign than he has in any other. He spoke in every ward in the city and worked night and day for the success of the new judges. He canvassed the whole town and aroused the greatest enthusiasm wherever he spoke. It was the first time he had ever failed in support of the candidates of the organization, but having taken his stand he went the limit and no one denounced the "ring" and the bosses, their methods and their men more vehemently and unsparingly than he.

The chief object of attack in the fight was Mayor Whyte, who it was alleged, controlled the Supreme Bench, and whose desire to re-elect the incumbent judges was attributed to the wish to perpetuate his political power in the city. The three judges whose terms expired in 1882 and who immediately became candidates for renomination with the support of Mr. Whyte and the city organization were Judges Robert Gilmor, Henry F. Garey and Campbell W. Pinkney. The latter was the brother of Mr. Whyte.

Early in the summer the agitation against the renomination of the old judges began and other aspirants for the nominations made their appearance. THE SUN began the fight by demanding fair primaries under the new law that had been passed at Annapolis in the Legislature of 1882. Editorial after editorial was published pointing out that fraudulent primaries under the old method would arouse a resentment among the people that would invite party disaster. The bosses paid no attention, and interviews and letters began to appear from the leading men of the party denouncing the management and calling upon them to come out in the open with their scheme to retain and perpetuate a subserv-

vient bench. These utterances fell upon deaf ears and the primaries held on October 5 were held in the same old way and proved a walkover for the machine ticket. Only 8,000 votes were polled in the whole city, and Mr. William A. Stewart, who was an independent candidate in the primaries, was overwhelmingly defeated. United States Senator Isidor Rayner was on the ticket in the primaries as a delegate to the convention from the Twelfth ward, but was knocked out by the late Morris A. Thomas, then the organization leader of the ward. Mr. Rayner the day after the primaries published a card in which he said Mr. Whyte had asked him to go to the convention and denounce Morris Thomas and the organization leaders for not permitting him to do so. Mr. Thomas replied to this in a card in which he characterized Mr. Rayner's conduct as puerile and there was a hot interchange of compliments between them.

In the convention held on October 6 the three old judges—Gilmor, Garey and Pinkney—were renominated, and the fourth nominee was the late William A. Fisher. The convention was run by Rasin, Joseph Whyte, Slater, Thomas Wilkinson and other of the organization leaders. Rasin, Morrison, Slater and Thomas sat in a box at Ford's Opera House, where the convention was held. Joseph Whyte, son of Mayor Whyte, was conspicuous as a delegate from the Eleventh ward and the floor leader of the gathering.

Mr. William A. Stewart's name was presented by his friends and received with tremendous enthusiasm in the galleries and by the spectators. He, however, received but 26 votes. To him and his friends is given the real credit of starting the independent movement that led to the election of the new judge ticket. Had the organization convention dropped one of the three old judges and nominated Stewart with Fisher, there would have been no revolt and the ticket would have been easily elected.

As it was, immediately following the nomination of Gilmor, Garey, Campbell and Fisher the independent movement started. It took definite shape on October 14, when an appeal to the people to defeat the old judge ticket and put up one of their own was published in *THE SUN*, signed by more than 300 of the most representative men in the city, including many regular

Democrats who had always been with the organization—men such as Bernard Carter, Lloyd L. Jackson and William Keyser. Two days later a call for a meeting of citizens was issued, signed by John E. Hurst, William Keyser, Thomas Deford, John B. Dixon and William H. Baldwin. They met—an enthusiastic crowd of them—in the Concordia Opera House on October 18. Some of those present were William S. Rayner, J. S. Whedbee, W. A. Marburg, August Vogeler, J. Wilcox Brown, Henry C. Wright, Dr. Milton N. Taylor, W. Burns Trundle, A. K. Foard, Andrew Reid, W. T. Dixon, Joseph Packard, Randolph Barton, H. Hochheimer, John S. Gilmor, W. A. Boyd, Joshua Horner, John A. Hambleton, W. H. Crawford, William T. Malster, James Carroll, S. E. Egerton, C. Morton Stewart, B. F. Newcomer, George S. Brown, Richard D. Fisher, Henry Slingluff, Henry Clark, William H. Perkins, Wendell Bollman, J. Wesley Guest, John R. Whitridge and Richard Cromwell.

Speeches were made by Messrs. J. Hall Pleasants, Major Richard M. Venable, Robert D. Morrison, William Keyser and others. Major Venable denounced Gorman and Whyte as Democratic bosses and Fulton and Creswell as Republican bosses and gave this advice: "When you see a boss hit him." He declared that Mr. Fisher had been nominated on the old judge ticket by the "malodorous managers to act as a disinfectant." After much speechmaking and enthusiasm the gathering got down to business and nominated as independent candidates for judge William A. Fisher, William A. Stewart, Edward Duffy and Charles E. Phelps.

The night following—October 19—the Republican Judicial Convention met and unanimously indorsed the new judge ticket declining to put up candidates of their own. Later they rescinded this indorsement and, under the influence of R. Stockett Matthews and the Baltimore American, a straight-out Republican ticket was put in the field. The better element among the Republicans, however, stuck manfully to the independent ticket and refused to vote for their party nominees, who cut a ridiculous figure in the election, polling not over 1,200 votes.

From this date on to the end the campaign waged hotly. Mr. Carter took the lead, and from one end of the town to the other

his denunciation of the bosses and the subserviency of the old judges rang out. In one speech, after predicting the overwhelming victory for the new judge ticket and the removal of the bench from politics, he declared, "and when this has been accomplished it will be the duty of every decent man to keep up the fight until we have taken out of the hands of the men who make merchandise of it the management of our party. If this be treason, let them make the most of it." The biggest and best men in Baltimore flocked to the support of the new ticket, took the stump for it and contributed their money in its support. THE SUN was the real backbone of the fight, and daily thundered against the iniquities of the bosses and the necessity of defeating them at the polls.

John K. Cowen, Charles Marshall, Archibald Stirling, J. S. Heuisler, William L. Marbury, Sebastian Brown, R. D. Morrison, Henry C. Kennard, William J. O'Brien, Archibald H. Taylor and others took the stump and the town rang with their speeches. Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte was one of the conspicuous Republicans who supported the new judge ticket, and there were a number of others on the stump, while thousands of Republicans voted for it, ignoring their own party judicial ticket. About the only prominent reformer who did not support the independent movement was Mr. Henry M. Warfield, father of Mr. S. Davies Warfield and twice a candidate for Mayor on independent tickets. Mr. Warfield had for years vigorously fought the "ring" and denounced the ringsters, but in this campaign he supported the old judges and he, with Mayor Whyte, spoke at a big mass-meeting in the interests of the organization ticket.

Another big figure in the reform element that took no active part in support of the independent movement was Mr. S. Teackle Wallis. At the beginning of the fight Mr. Wallis' aid was sought by the leaders in the movement, but he refused to give it. Later he came out in a letter published in The Sun in which he declared that while his inclinations and sympathies were with the new judge ticket, private and personal reasons would prevent him from giving that ticket his active support and would preclude his taking any active part in the fight. And he did not take any part, making not a single speech. He was, however,

practically alone in this, as scarcely any other well-known man with independent tendencies, Mr. Warfield excepted, but lined up with the new judge movement.

While the campaign was at its hottest a scheme to bring in hundreds of repeaters from outside the city was uncovered, and charges of being implicated in this scheme were laid against "Sol" Freburger, then a member of the detective force and later judge of the Appeal Tax Court. Freburger denied the charges, and there was a trial before the Police Board which aroused intense interest and excitement. The Evening News was then a Democratic organization paper and supported the old judge ticket, and it was charged that the American lent what aid it could to the old judge cause through friendship toward Mayor Whyte. The organization made a tremendous fight, calling to the front its best speakers and bringing in outside orators to help things along, but the independents and THE SUN tore the mask off the whole business, and before election day the local leaders realized that defeat stared them in the face.

In that campaign a spade was called a spade and the "ring" got a roasting the like of which it has not got since, except in 1895. So formidable were the forces behind the new judge ticket and so many organization men were lined up with that movement that the organization leaders did not attempt fraud either through fear or a realization of its uselessness and the election which was held on November 7 resulted in the sweeping victory for the new judge ticket by more than 11,000 majority. Judge Fisher was on both tickets and of course had no opposition, save from the regular Republican nominees, who amounted to so little that no one now can remember their names. So little figure did they cut that people forgot they were running.

The fight was so intense that it completely overshadowed the Congressional candidates who were running at the same time. Those elected at the same election as the new judges were:

First District—George C. Covington.

Second—J. F. C. Talbott.

Third—Fetter S. Hoblitzell.

Fourth—John V. L. Findlay.

Fifth—Hart B. Holton.

Sixth—Louis E. McComas.

In this election the Republicans gained another Congressman—this time from the Fifth district, where Mr. Holton defeated A. J. Chapman. Mr. Holton later became the Republican candidate for Governor, and was one of the best-known men in his party at the time. This was the second election of Mr. McComas and the first of Mr. Findlay. Mr. Findlay was elected as a Democrat and then re-elected as a Democrat. In those days he was as staunch a Democrat as could be found, and it was some years later that he became a Republican.

Other judges elected at this election outside of Baltimore city were as follows:

Second Circuit—John M. Robinson, Joseph A. Wickes and Frederick Stump.

Third—George Yellott and David Fowler.

Fourth—Richard H. Alvey and A. K. Syester.

Fifth—Oliver Miller, I. Thomas Jones and John E. Smith.

Sixth—John A. Lynch and John T. Vinson.

Seventh—J. Parran Crane.

There were no State candidates on the ticket, and what national issues there were were completely obscured by the smoke of the new judge fight in Baltimore city. The part Mr. Gorman played in the independent movement there was an exceedingly skillful and quiet one, but it was none the less effective and forceful. As a result, it left him supreme in the State as the leader, with no possibility of Whyte rising again, either as a candidate or as a manager. With his term as Mayor near its close, and the new judges anything but friendly to him, his strength had been sapped, and from that time on to his death, while he always remained a towering figure in the party, and held many offices, he never had sufficient following to make himself a real factor within the party organization. There have been, however, one or two occasions where fear of what he might do with his personal popularity after the nominations had been made has deterred the managers from doing certain things. Some five years later he was nominated for Attorney-General and elected. Other offices came to him even after that, and there were not many years of his life after he reached manhood in which he was out of office. He died

holding the greatest one he ever held, but it was an accident and a matter of sentiment that he was made United States Senator to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Gorman's death. At the time Governor Warfield named him for the place it was recognized as distinctly a nonpolitical appointment urged upon him by newspaper influences. Had Mr. Warfield wanted to play politics at the time, he would have named Ex-Governor E. E. Jackson. What many Democrats wanted him to do was to appoint General L. Victor Baughman, at that time the most personally popular Democrat in the State. Mr. Whyte and Mr. Rasin all their lives remained on fairly friendly terms, and it was really Mr. Rasin who brought about his nomination for Attorney-General five years after the new judge fight.

Just before the new judge ticket was elected a Councilmanic election was held, and in this the organization was successful, the independent element being too much concerned about the judicial ticket to pay much attention to anything else. John J. Mahon was returned to the First Branch and Major James W. Denny was elected from the Twelfth ward, with McHenry Howard from the Eleventh and Dr. John D. Blake from the Sixteenth. Mr. John T. Ford and John F. Weyler were also elected at the time.

This was the year in which Grover Cleveland was a candidate for the second time for Governor in New York, and he was just beginning to be considered a Presidential possibility. Over in the United States Senate Mr. Gorman's ability, even though the Administration was Republican, was pushing him to the front, and, although he had been in the Senate but a year or two, he was already recognized as one of the strongest and most resourceful of the Democratic Senators. His knowledge of parliamentary law, his calmness and judgment, made him one of the Democratic leaders in the Senate, and his advice and counsel were already being sought by those in authority. In the next year he gained even greater prestige, but it was only after the nomination of Cleveland at Chicago, in 1884, that he really became a big national figure. It was his brain that managed the Democratic national campaign of that year, and to him generally, as chairman of the National Executive Committee, was accorded the credit for the Democratic victory of that year, which gave the

party its first President since the Civil War. Then it was that not only the State, but the nation rang with praise of Gorman, his courage, astuteness and ability. In all the turmoil and excitement of national politics, however, Mr. Gorman never lost sight for a minute of the situation in Maryland. Although in Washington and New York most of the time, he kept in constant touch with conditions here, and overlooked no points in the game calculated to strengthen him at home.

In the next chapter the story of the nomination of Robert McLane as Governor, and the events leading up to the election of Cleveland, one result of which was to give to the Democrats in Maryland the Federal offices for the first time in a generation, will be told.

## CHAPTER XII.

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### How Robert M. McLane Became Governor and E. K. Wilson Got a Senatorship.

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In the summer of 1883, at a conference held in Baltimore, at which were present Senator Gorman, Jesse K. Hines, I. Freeman Rasin and J. F. C. Talbott, it was decided to nominate Robert M. McLane for Governor.

The selection was rather forced on Gorman by Mr. Rasin and Mr. Talbott, the latter being always a friend of McLane's, and the former having picked him as an easy winner, with more than enough respectability to carry the city ticket through. McLane was an aristocrat—a fine, capable, qualified man, with high political ambitions, and even then an aspirant for the United States Senate. There is no question that he accepted the nomination for Governor with a view of using the office as a stepping-stone to the Senate. Gorman was not at all deceived as to this, but reckoned himself able to care for that contingency when it arose. Mr. Talbott and Mr. McLane had served in Congress together, and were great personal friends. An indication of their relations was given by McLane soon after he became Governor. Some Baltimore county Democrats, not friends of Mr. Talbott, called on the Governor in Annapolis to talk with him about appointments. "I will not," said Governor McLane emphatically, "appoint any man to office in Baltimore county who is not a friend of Frederick Talbott," and, what is more, he never did.

After the conference, at which it was determined to nominate McLane, the word was sent down the line, and the organization swung in behind his candidacy. Hamilton was not openly a candidate for renomination, although he would have liked it. The party managers, however, did not want him as Governor four years before, and they wanted him still less now. To a man the leaders were against him. Yet he had a strength and a following among the people that could not be discounted.

In a great many respects Hamilton's candidacy for Governor, his nomination, his election, his course and his retirement were analogous with that of Edwin Warfield, 25 years later. When Hamilton first made a fight for the nomination in 1875 he was defeated by the machine, just as Warfield was defeated in his first candidacy in 1899. Four years later his nomination was practically forced on the leaders by the exigencies of the situation, just as Hamilton's was forced in 1879. At the close of their respective terms Hamilton and Warfield, both of whom would have been glad to have served again as Governor, retired from the office strong with the people, but with their party organization hostile from top to bottom, with a hostility that rendered it impossible for them to have been renominated, even had they chosen to make an open fight. Another analogous feature between the two men as Governor was the fact that Hamilton stood aloof, and took no part in the Senatorial contest between Gorman and Whyte that occurred during his administration, just as Warfield kept hands off and entirely away from the fight between Smith and Rayner that marked the first session of the Legislature after he went to Annapolis as Governor. There are a number of points, however, where the analogy disappears, and these will be pointed out when the time comes to take up the story of the Warfield administration.

Hamilton's friends, like those of Governor Warfield, although their man was not a candidate, did not fail to let their dissatisfaction be known. They called themselves the Anti-ring Democracy, and held various meetings, one of which was at the home of John Stewart. There gathered James Hodges, Gen. Bradley T. Johnson, Lewis N. Hopkins, Stephen Bonsal, John Gill, William Platt, Thomas McCosker, William F. McKewen and J. O. Stafford. They strongly indorsed Hamilton's course, denounced the "Ring," and demanded the election of unpledged delegates to the State convention. Notwithstanding the analogous nature of the two administrations, Governor Warfield, then the State Senator from Howard county, was not a Hamilton man in this campaign. At this time he was the strong personal and political friend of Mr. Gorman, and was with him in all things political. Various other meetings of the Hamilton men

were held, and quite a little noise was made in the newspapers and on the stump, but the thing had been securely fixed at that summer conference, and on September 16 the primaries were held in Baltimore, and McLane's delegates carried every district. A solidly pledged delegation went to the State convention for him, and that was all there was to it.

The convention met on September 19. The night before the convention, when the usual crowd gathered at Barnum's Hotel, McLane let it be known for the first time that he was uncertain whether or not he would accept the nomination. For a while this threw the leaders up in the air, but after several hasty conferences it was determined to go ahead anyhow and nominate him, unless he absolutely declined. In the event of an absolute declination upon the part of McLane, the nomination was to have gone to the late William Keyser, who was ambitious in that direction. In the morning, however, McLane's hesitation left him, the Keyser idea was dropped and the track cleared.

Senator Gorman, as chairman of the State Central Committee, called the convention to order, and some of those present were Ex-Governor John Lee Carroll, Congressman J. F. C. Talbott, Fetter S. Hoblitzell, George W. Covington, John V. L. Findlay, Thomas J. Keating, I. Freeman Rasin, Barnes Compton, Lewis C. Smith, Charles B. Roberts, Gen. E. E. L. Hardcastle, Henry D. Farnandis, Henry Lloyd, of Dorchester; Edward Lloyd, of Talbot; George Peter, of Montgomery; E. W. Le Compte, of Dorchester; J. Frank Turner, of Easton; Edwin Warfield, of Howard; William M. Knight, of Cecil; Levin Woolford, Judge Watters, of Harford; Frank A. Bond, of Anne Arundel; R. W. Dashiell, of Somerset; H. H. Keedy, of Washington; Elihu E. Jackson, Spencer C. Jones, Frank T. Shaw, R. A. Dobbin, John Stewart, L. Victor Baughman, Buchanan Schley, of Washington; I. E. Mattingly, George W. Spencer and G. S. Hamill, of Garrett. Dr. William H. Cole acted as secretary and Ex-Governor Philip F. Thomas presided.

Mr. McLane was nominated by Joseph H. Bradley, of Montgomery county, and Mr. Thomas C. Weeks, of Baltimore, seconded the nomination. In the platform was a labor plank, and upon this plank Mr. Weeks spoke, declaring his belief that Mr.

McLane would live up to this plank, and saying that if he did not so believe he would not vote for him. The name of Mr. Charles B. Roberts, of Carroll, which had been spoken of in connection with the Gubernatorial nomination, was not presented, but the Queen Anne's delegation placed in nomination Col. William McKenney, of that county. There was but one ballot—McLane, 96½; McKenny, 20½. After this vote McLane's nomination was made unanimous. There were three candidates for Comptroller—J. Frank Turner, of Easton; Dr. W. H. Gale, of Somerset, and E. W. LeCompte, of Dorchester. Mr. Turner was nominated on the second ballot, and Mr. Charles B. Roberts was then named for Attorney-General without opposition.

The Republican State Convention met shortly afterward and nominated this ticket:

For Governor—Hart B. Holton.

For Attorney-General—R. Stockett Matthews.

For Comptroller—Dr. Washington A. Smith.

Henry Stockbridge, called the convention to order as chairman of the State Central Committee, and J. Morrison Harris, father of the present Postmaster of Baltimore, presided. He was nominated for presiding officer by Mr. William M. Marine, of Hartford, who secured three cheers for the "Ex-Governor of Maryland." General Thomas J. Shryock, Joshua Horner, R. A. Dunn and other prominent Republicans attended and took an active part in the proceedings.

After the two conventions factional feeling in the Democratic ranks subsided. The Sun appeared satisfied with the ticket, and strongly commended the nomination of Mr. McLane.

So far as the State fight was concerned, the election of the Democratic candidates was conceded, and interest centered on the municipal campaign which preceded it. On October 4th General F. C. Latrobe came out of his brief period of retirement, while Mr. Whyte was Mayor, and was nominated for the Mayoralty by his party. The convention was presided over by William Keyser, who was then chairman of the Democratic City Executive Committee. Almost immediately an independent movement started for the nomination of J. Monroe Heiskell, and a revolt of some proportions against Latrobe and the organization.

behind him was on. The organization had named Charles G. Kerr as its candidate for State's Attorney and Colonel Eugene T. Joyce for Sheriff. It was just about this time that "Bill" Harig, who three years ago shot and killed James J. Mahon, shot "Jim" Busey. The shooting occurred right in front of the City Hall, and Warden John F. Weyler, then a City Councilman, and a thoroughly practical politician, was with Busey. The two men had been for years bitter enemies, and had fought each other fiercely in the primaries over the nomination for Sheriff. Harig was a supporter of Dr. Donavin and Busey was for Joyce. Harig fired three shots at Busey. He was arrested, but Busey lived—and is still living—and he got off.

Considerable political capital was made of the Busey-Harig affray by the independents, and the movement for the nomination of Heiskell grew apace. He was urged to become an independent candidate by such men as S. Teackle Wallis, Charles Marshall, Henry C. Kennard, C. Morton Stewart, Joshua Levering, Major Richard M. Venable, Charles J. Bonaparte, Judge John Upshur Dennis, T. Wallis Blackistone, Arthur George Brown and others. Finally Heiskell formally announced his acceptance of the independent nomination, and the fight was on. A fusion was made with the Republicans, by which they agreed to support Heiskell, placing no candidate of their own in the field, and to take as their share a portion of the other nominations, which were to receive the independent support. It was a clear political deal, and it was partially successful. At this time William F. Airey, afterward United States Marshal, was chairman of the Republican City Executive Committee, and was just becoming prominent in the organization. He landed the fusion nomination for Sheriff and was elected, too. Mr. Bernard Carter in this fight was back in the organization fold, after having brilliantly led the fight against the organization in the new judges' campaign the year before, and took the stump for both McLane and Latrobe. With the two candidates he made a great speech on the night of October 18th, in the old Masonic Temple. This was said by many who heard it to have been one of the best speeches Mr. Carter ever made.

For the independents and the Republicans Latrobe was the

shining target, and he came in for more abuse and denunciation in that fight than in nearly any of the many in which he figured as a candidate. Mr. Wallis, his old enemy, bitterly assailed him, and he was held up to scorn in every ward in the city. Colonel Charles Marshall on the stump and in an open letter accused him of having the previous year voted for the old judge ticket, and contributed money for the new judge ticket. Mr. Latrobe denied that he had voted the old judge ticket, and said he had supported the new judges, both with a contribution and his vote. Colonel Marshall then obtained letters from Mr. George R. Gaither and Mr. Jordan Stabler, who were judges of election in Mr. Latrobe's precinct, both of whom stated that they had seen his ballot, and believed firmly that it was the old judge ticket he had voted. Mr. Joseph Whyte, son of William Pinkney Whyte, was also called by Colonel Marshall as a witness, and he stated that unless Mr. Latrobe had voted the old judge ticket he had certainly deceived him. Altogether, they made things right warm for the General in that fight, but he took it with his usual serenity, and when election day came—October 25—he had the votes. His majority, however, was only 3,485, the smallest obtained by him in any fight he had made.

At this election John J. Mahon, who had served numerous terms as a member of the First Branch City Council, graduated into the Second Branch, where he represented the Ninth and Tenth wards. It was about this time that Judge Bartol, of the Court of Appeals, resigned because of ill health, and the Democrats nominated William Shepard Bryan, father of Ex-Attorney-General Bryan, and then one of the leading lawyers of the State. Mr. Bryan was elected over Judge Schmucker, who ran against him. This was the year, too, that James Bond, now a member of the Liquor License Board, was nominated by Mr. Rasin for Clerk of the Superior Court, and was elected, having been ridiculed extensively by Mr. Wallis as a "Rasin henchman." Airey defeated Joyce for Sheriff by about 1,000, but the Democratic majority for McLane and the State ticket was over 12,000.

The Republicans came far closer to having a majority in the Senate than they had had since the war, the Democrats having the bare constitutional majority of 14.

The personnel of the Senate at the session of the Legislature—1884—that followed was:

Allegany—William Brace, Republican.

Anne Arundel—Nicholas Brewer, Republican.

Baltimore County—Charles Bohn Slingluff.

Baltimore City—Harry Welles Rusk, Thomas G. Hayes and John Gill, Jr., Democrats.

Calvert—Edward H. Ireland, Republican.

Carroll—T. Herbert Shriver, Democrat.

Caroline—Andrew B. Rose, Republican.

Cecil—Levi R. Mearn, Democrat.

Charles—F. M. Lancaster, Republican.

Dorchester—Henry Lloyd, Democrat.

Garrett—William R. Getty, Democrat.

Frederick—Noah Bowlus, Democrat.

Howard—Edwin Warfield, Democrat.

Harford—Edward M. Allen, Republican.

Kent—W. D. Burchinal, Republican.

Montgomery—Joseph T. Moore, Republican.

Prince George's—R. H. Magruder, Republican.

Queen Anne's—William T. P. Turpin, Democrat.

St. Mary's—Joseph S. Allston, Republican.

Somerset—Thomas S. Hodson, Republican.

Washington—J. Clarence Lane, Democrat.

Wicomico—Elihu E. Jackson, Democrat.

Talbot—I. Davis Clark, Republican.

Worcester—George W. Bishop, Democrat.

In the House the Republican showing was not nearly so good as in the Senate.

There were 63 Democrats to 28 Republicans. The personnel of the House of Delegates that year was as follows:

Allegany—Hector Cochrane, Republican; C. F. Hetzell, Republican; E. T. White, Republican; P. A. Crowe, Democrat.

Anne Arundel—J. Wirt Randall, George D. Lyles, Dr. Henry Gantt, U. G. Owings, Republicans.

Baltimore City—Thomas Garrison, Edward D. Fitzgerald, Edward I. Clark, John Herman Rothert, John Q. Robson, Chas. H. Evans, John H. Handy, Joshua Plaskitt, Charles Schultz,

Dr. Joseph Pembroke Thom, Rudolph W. Gunther, Jr., Charles J. Wiener, Walter L. Virtue, Edward R. Davis, P. J. Brandy, J. J. Curran, H. C. Seebo, L. C. McCusker, Democrats.

Baltimore County—Milton W. Offutt, Samuel Brady, Thomas Kelbaugh, S. Allen Lieb, James J. Lindsey, Joshua W. Cockey, Democrats.

Calvert—Thomas Parran, Jr., James C. Chaney, Republicans.

Caroline—R. D. Culbreath, J. H. Doughlas, Democrats.

Carroll—John W. Abbott, Edward W. Leeds, Johnzie E. Beasman, J. H. Koons, Democrats.

Cecil—Henry Jones, Frank Scott, W. B. Rowland, Dems.

Charles—W. DeC. Mitchell, R. H. Mitchell, Lee M. Sutherland, Republicans.

Dorchester—James Wallace, Jr., Republican; Joseph T. Davis, Republican; Isaac H. Houston, Democrat.

Frederick—Charels F. Markell, Harry C. Keefer, Andrew A. Annan, John M. Morrison, Dr. John J. Henshew, Republicans.

Garrett—Eli Stanton, Democrat; A. J. Speicher, Republican.

Harford—Jacob H. Plowman, Benjamin Sliver, Jr., R. Harris Archer, Martin McNabb, Democrats.

Howard—William T. Clark of T., Reuben T. Johnson, Democrats.

Kent—J. Fletcher Wilson, Benedict S. Adkinson, Democrats.

Montgomery—Howard Griffith, Somerset O. Jones, August L. Greaves, Democrats.

Prince George's—Richard Wootten, Democrat; Charles E. Coffin, J. Benson Perrie, Republicans.

Queen Anne's—William Henry Legg, A. J. Gadd, W. E. Barton, Democrats.

Somerset—John R. Milburn, Noah M. Lawson, William E. Parks, Republicans.

St. Mary's—Washington Wilkinson, John L. Milburn, Republicans.

Talbot—Philip Francis Thomas, Edward Lloyd, Joseph B. Seth, Democrats.

Washington—Charles A. Little, Democrat; J. Monroe Sword, Democrat; William Booth, Democrat; Thomas J. Keller, Republican.

Wicomico—Thomas B. Taylor, William S. Moore, William E. Shepherd, Democrats.

Worcester—Benjamin J. Taylor, Edward D. Martin, Francis T. Taylor, Democrats.

Henry Lloyd, of Dorchester, was President of the Senate, and Dr. Thom, of Baltimore city, Speaker of the House of Delegates. Barnes Compton was re-elected Treasurer over John S. Gittings, who made a contest in the caucus, but had no real strength that he could hold when the time came. McLane's inauguration was simple and unostentatious. The only member of his family present was his daughter. He declined to permit the railroad to furnish him a private car to go to Annapolis, and put his foot down on the proposition to have a band of music.

The big feature of the session of 1884 was the contest for the United States Senatorship to succeed James Black Groome. No more dramatic or thrilling Senatorial election has taken place in Maryland than that which resulted in Ephraim K. Wilson's success at this session. Gorman and the State machine were for Thomas J. Keating, but the machine was not solidly for Keating, and it was recognized that the balloting would have to be trailed along until the opportunity came to slip him in. A deadlock developed early, and, notwithstanding the Eastern Shore law, a part of the city delegation, then controlled by J. Frank Morrison, at the time a big factor in local politics, was for Governor McLane under cover. They were playing for patronage, and were ready to vote for McLane when the opportunity came, although those who were guiding his boom felt it best to keep his name out of it until the chance presented itself. Judge John M. Robinson, of Queen Anne's county, was the leading Eastern Shore candidate, but as usual the Shore was not united, and there were various favorite sons. They began balloting in joint session on January 15th, and the first ballot was as follows:

Robinson, 24; Westcott, 22; Groome, 21; Thomas, 15; Wilson, 12; Keating, 8; Creswell, 5.

The Republican vote was scattered, and various members of the party—Louis E. McComas, Ex-Senator Creswell, Robert B. Dixon, Milton G. Urner, Hart B. Holton and others—were com-

plimented. Senator Warfield, of Howard county, voted consistently throughout for Philip Francis Thomas.

On the third day the name of Governor McLane appeared for the first time, and he got a few scattering votes. His city friends, however, controlled by Morrison, did not show their hands. The deadlock continued, and the factions were so divided that a caucus was useless. On the fourth day, after several ballots had been taken, the vote stood:

Robinson, 24; Thomas, 16; Groome, 19; Keating, 8; Wilson, 15.

The balance of the Democrats, and the Republican vote were scattered, McLane receiving a few. After this ballot the friends of Mr. Keating, the organization candidate, believing that if the thing could be prolonged sufficiently their man would win, attempted to adjourn. Robinson's friends and the others fought this vigorously and defeated the motion. Three more ballots were taken, and on the last one Wilson jumped from 15 to 25, while Robinson lost one and the other candidates dwindled. Wilson's gains caused a ripple of excitement throughout the House, and again a vain attempt to adjourn was made. On the next ballot Wilson dropped to 22 and Robinson ran up to 29. Groome had 11, Thomas 10 and Keating 7.

As the last name on the roll was called, and while the vote was being tabulated prior to the announcement, John Wirt Randall, Republican, of Anne Arundel county, got up and went to the seat of Senator Moore, Republican of Montgomery. In an audible whisper he said: "Now is the time." Immediately Mr. Moore arose and said: "Mr. Speaker, I desire to change my vote from the Hon. Robert B. Dixon to the Hon. John M. Robinson."

As soon as Mr. Moore had finished speaking Mr. Randall and Senator Hodson, both Republicans, jumped to their feet and loudly called "Mr. Speaker! Mr. Speaker!" with the evident intention of changing their votes in the same way as Senator Moore. The Democrats immediately jumped to the conclusion that an attempt was to be made to make Robinson through Republican votes, and the most intense excitement prevailed.

Dozens of men jumped to their feet and shouted for recognition, and there was a scene of wild confusion. The Democrats

were in an uproar, and the Speaker could not make himself heard. Finally someone shouted in his ear: "Recognize none but Democrats." This the Speaker did, and the Democrats as fast as they could began to change their votes to Wilson. Members were running around the room trying to check the stampede and hold the forces of other candidates in line, and the confusion increased every minute. The changes came so fast and furious that the reading clerk could not keep tab on the vote. The Keating people, however, sat tight in their seats, waiting to take advantage of the chance they looked for after the excitement subsided, and the Morrison delegates in the city delegation did the same thing, thinking that the stampede could in the end be switched to McLane. Al Goodman, a Baltimore newspaper man in the House of Delegates, sat at the reporter's table keeping tab of the changes. In the confusion he lost track of the count, and when Edward I. Clark, then a member of the city delegation, rushed over and asked him, "How many has Wilson?" Goodman looked up for a second and replied, "Oh, he's elected." Mr. Clark dashed back to the city delegation with the news, and immediately there was a rush to get into the band wagon. The city delegates, who had been sitting tight, began to change to Wilson, and when the smoke finally cleared away the vote stood:

Wilson, 68; Robinson, 7; Thomas, 6; Groome, 8; Creswell, 7; Dixon, 12.

Wilson was declared elected and the contest was over. It was probably as exciting a scene as has ever taken place in the General Assembly of Maryland, and those who took part in that session will never forget it. Thomas G. Hayes, who was one of the Senators from Baltimore city, was for Wilson right straight along, but Gill and Rusk, the other two Senators, voted for Robinson before the break came.

## CHAPTER XIII.

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Senator Gorman's Part in the First Cleveland Campaign—Story of the Convention.

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There comes now a period when the Democracy of Maryland tasted for the first time since the Civil War the sweets of Federal patronage, and from the point of view of the politician a glorious four years it was.

In the national campaign of 1884 Grover Cleveland led his party to victory in the country, and the Democrats obtained almost as complete control in the national Government as they had in the State and city. Mr. Gorman was in the zenith of his power—the strongest figure in the Senate, the undisputed leader in the State and a big national factor, to whom was generally accorded—and rightly so—the credit for the success of the national ticket. Although in Mr. Cleveland the bump of gratitude was not overdeveloped, in the matter of the Maryland appointments, with one or two exceptions in his first Administration, he accepted Mr. Gorman's recommendations, and some of the biggest and best of the Federal plums went to Maryland Democrats and Gorman men.

It was a sunny, happy time for the "faithful," and many there were who got their reward. Rasin forsook his soft berth in the Courthouse, where he had held his clerkship for 18 years, and qualified as naval officer, from which office he played politics in the same old way. Gorman men were on guard everywhere—in the City Hall, the Governor's Mansion and the Custom House. No man could hope for a State or Federal office except through him. His alliance with Rasin impregnably intrenched him in the city, and his power was complete and supreme. Yet with all this, and notwithstanding his eminence at Washington and in the national councils of the party, his enemies multiplied at home, and fought on and on with increasing bitterness and ferocity. They tried to beat his candidates wherever and whenever they appear-

ed. They tried to undermine him with Cleveland in the matter of appointments, and here they did succeed to some extent, notably in preventing J. F. C. Talbott from landing a Federal job. At least they helped prevent this, but there was a good deal more to it than that. Cowen, Wallis, Marshall, Marbury, Venable, Keyser and others kept up the battle against Rasin in the city and Gorman in the State.

The attacks grew hotter and hotter until they culminated in the Brown-Hodges campaign of 1885, in which the independent and insurgent Democrats marshalled all their forces, fused with the Republicans and made a tremendous assault upon Rasin and Rasin's ticket in the city, in the belief that could it be defeated in October this victory could be followed up by the defeat of the legislative ticket in November upon which Gorman depended for re-election to the Senate, and the power of both could be broken.

It was a splendid fight, well conceived and teeming with excitement and bitterness. By long odds it was the fiercest municipal battle ever fought in Baltimore. And it might have been successful, too, had not the Republican allies of the independents "laid down" at the last minute. Some of the Republican local leaders, such as the late James T. Caulk, then a power in South Baltimore, and later a police magistrate under Lowndes, happened to hold jobs in the Custom House and wanted to hold on to them. At heart they were with the regular Democrats as against the independents, and underneath quietly aided that cause and knifed the fusion candidates. John J. Mahon was the man who managed the ward details for Mr. Rasin in this fight, and it was chiefly through the deals he put through and the hands he "framed up" that the day was saved for Rasin. The majority was a comparatively small one, but it was decisive, and, for the time, at least, the fusion forces were crushed. It established Rasin as the sole and supreme boss of the city, and in the month following the State ticket went through by 20,000 majority. The Democrats held both branches of the Legislature by big majorities, and Mr. Gorman was triumphantly re-elected to succeed himself without any real opposition. It was a thrilling struggle, and the stakes were big on both sides.

Few of the men in either camp who took a leading part came out of the fight unscarred. Bitter words were used and ugly charges recklessly made. It was in this campaign that Isidor Rayner and Charles J. Bonaparte had the verbal interchange that effectually severed diplomatic relations between them, and since that fight they have not been on speaking terms with each other. It was in this fight that Fred Talbott and Mr. Rayner referred to Mr. Bonaparte in highly uncomplimentary terms, and in return Mr. Bonaparte figuratively took the hides off both of them. It was in this fight that the late John V. L. Findlay, who had a year or so before, while in Congress as a Democrat, gone over to the Republicans, supported Judge Brown, and Mr. Rayner said of him, "The Republican party gave, the Republican party has taken away—oh, blessed be the name of the Republican party!" and was later accused of blasphemy. It was in this campaign that Henry Wooten, of Howard county, made and remade his charges against Mr. Gorman and Eugene Higgins of bribery and political corruption, defying them to sue him, and offering to put up \$10,000 if Mr. Gorman would bring the suit. It was in this fight that William L. Marbury accused John F. Weyler of having made a corrupt contract with Republicans to swap votes and defeat a Democratic candidate, and was hissed and hooted by the crowd to which he spoke. It was in this fight that John W. Davis and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad induced "Doc" Slater to support for Mayor the man who had a short while before sentenced him to a year in the penitentiary, part of which term he served. It was in this fight that James Hodges accused William Pinkney Whyte of supporting Brown with the hope of "unhorsing" Gorman, and Mr. Whyte replied that "unhorsing" Gorman would be an easy task compared to that of "unassing" Hodges.

Oh, it was a hot old campaign, and it has not been equalled since, but before telling the detailed story of this memorable fight it will be well to review the events prior to the election of Cleveland as well as those immediately following his inauguration, in order that the situation may be made clear.

The Democratic State Convention in 1884 was held early in the summer, and these were the delegates chosen to represent Maryland at the national convention in Chicago.

At Large—Charles J. M. Gwinn, Richard D. Hynson, William Walsh and John Lee Carroll.

First District—Robert F. Brattan and J. C. Dirickson.

Second—John S. Wirt and D. W. Henning.

Third—Robert J. Slater and W. I. Montague.

Fourth—Frederick Raine and John J. Fenton.

Fifth—Dr. George Wells and Fillmore Beale.

Sixth—Hattersly W. Talbott and Gilmor S. Hamill.

They went out unpledged, of course, and found Mr. Gorman on the field. He went into the convention holding the proxy of Mr. Hynson, who did not make the trip, and it was in this convention that the eyes of the Maryland delegates were really opened to the power wielded by their Senator in the national Democracy. They found his advice eagerly sought by the leading men of the convention, and they found him with the strings in his hands. Gorman was a big factor in the nomination of Cleveland, and it was he who induced Mr. Hendricks to accept the second place on the ticket, after others had tried and failed. In getting Hendricks to accept the Vice-Presidency those best posted as to that fight think Gorman did more toward the election of the ticket than any other single thing in the campaign. Hendricks thought he should be nominated for the Presidency, and insisted that he would take nothing else. His services to the party were generally recognized as of the highest order, and he was tremendously popular. He had in many campaigns greatly aided the Democratic cause, whereas Cleveland practically had no political record at the time. The heart of the convention was for Hendricks, but its head was for Cleveland. It was essential to carry New York, and it was argued that only a New Yorker could do that. Hendricks was terribly disappointed, and very indignant, but Gorman, between the morning and afternoon session of the convention, went to Hendricks' room and persuaded him for the good of the party to take the nomination. There is no question but that Hendricks' name was a tower of strength to the ticket in Indiana, and he helped it elsewhere as well. After Cleveland was President Mr. Hendricks asked him as a personal favor to appoint a certain man postmaster of Indianapolis, and Cleveland

would not do it. Mr. Hendricks felt this keenly, and told it to his friends as illustrating Cleveland's unappreciativeness.

After the convention the Democratic leaders united in asking Gorman to go to New York and take full charge of the campaign. They feared treachery upon the part of John Kelly, who was then the Tammany leader, and was a bitter enemy of Cleveland. It was his influence that caused the Tammany delegates to declare on the floor of the national convention that if Cleveland were nominated he would not carry New York. After the nomination Kelly promised to support Cleveland, but the leaders did not trust him, and Gorman was made chairman of the National Executive Committee. His headquarters were at the Hoffman House, and his was the mind that directed the entire fight, the result of which was to give the Democracy the only President it has had since the war. Mr. Gorman's work in this campaign was of the finest kind, and his alertness, his calmness and judgment more than once saved the situation at critical points. He and his friends always felt that Cleveland did not sufficiently appreciate what he had done for him, both at the time of his nomination and in the campaign that followed. Cleveland always insisted that he went as far to oblige Mr. Gorman as his conscience would permit.

That year—1884—in Maryland the Democrats nominated for Congress the following:

First District—Charles H. Gibson.

Second—Frank T. Shaw.

Third—William H. Cole.

Fourth—John V. L. Findlay.

Fifth—Barnes Compton.

Sixth—Frederick J. Nelson.

All of these were elected except Nelson, who was defeated by Louis E. McComas. In the Second district Congressman Talbott failed to get the nomination after another exciting convention, this time held at Elkton. T. Herbert Shriver, of Carroll county, presided, and Adam Peeples, of Port Deposit, the Speaker of the House of Delegates in 1910, acted as secretary. The candidates besides Mr. Talbott in the convention were Dr. Shaw and Thos. J. C. Hopkins, of Harford county. Talbott had 10 votes—6 from Baltimore county and 4 from Cecil—but the other two counties mustered 10, too, and the convention was in a deadlock that lasted

for three days. Finally the Cecil delegation broke away from Talbott and Shaw was named. Mr. Talbott was thus for the time at least sidetracked in the district, and he did not get the nomination again for eight years, Dr. Shaw serving two terms and Col. Herman Stump, of Harford, having two.

It was not until the beginning of Cleveland's second administration that Talbott went back to Congress, but his absence from that body by no means lessened his political prestige, and he kept on strengthening himself in the county and district until when he did land the nomination again his position as the district leader was generally recognized. In the 1884 campaign, however, he was off the ticket and plunged into the fight in Maryland to help roll up the Cleveland majority. Toward the last of the campaign Mr. Gorman sent for him to come to New York and told him this: "It is necessary for us to carry Indiana. I want you to go out there and stay there and look into the situation. If you think \$50,000 will carry the State, we will send it out there. If it cannot be carried for that, in your judgment, we will send it somewhere else. I am going to depend entirely on your judgment in this matter." A telegraphic code was arranged by which Mr. Gorman was to be communicated with, and he cautioned Mr. Talbott not to let the Indiana people know what his business was. Mr. Talbott went straight to Indianapolis and promptly disregarded his instructions. He went into the Democratic State headquarters and, after making himself known to the men in charge, frankly told them:

"Gorman has sent me out here to see whether \$50,000 will carry this State. It depends upon me whether or not you get the money. Now you have got to show me that you can win here with that money."

Those in charge of the Indiana fight proceeded to demonstrate to Mr. Talbott. He spent several weeks in the State, made a number of speeches, and finally the week before the election telegraphed to Gorman in New York that the State could be carried for the \$50,000 and to send the money on. The money was to be sent to the First National Bank of Indianapolis on a certain day, and the headquarters people, Henderson, Bright, Kern and others, were awaiting it, when Gorman wired again to Talbott

that the money intended for Indiana had to be placed somewhere else and they would have to get along out there without it. When this news arrived Mr. Talbott says there was consternation in headquarters and a conference was held at which things looked very glum indeed. Finally one man got up in the conference and said: "What is the use of talking this way? If we do not get this money from New York the only thing to do is to raise our own money and carry this State anyhow. I am going back to my district and raise mine, and that is what the rest of you ought to do." This instilled some fighting spirit into the downcast leaders, and the next day another wire came from Gorman that the money had been sent to the bank and everything was all right. The \$50,000 arrived and the State was carried. Mr. Talbott now says he believes it would have been carried even had the \$50,000 not come at all.

After the election and the days of suspense were over a great massmeeting in honor of Gorman was held in Baltimore in the City Hall Square. This was on November 10, and a tremendous crowd gathered to pay tribute to him. He was still in New York with every energy bent upon holding the victory so dearly won and which for days hung in the balance. Speeches were made by I. Parker Veazey, F. S. Hoblitzell, J. F. C. Talbott and others. Ringing cheers were given for "Maryland's favorite son," and to him was accorded the credit for the big national victory. The newspapers all over the country were full of praise of his work and the State rang with his name.

After the inauguration of Cleveland in March, 1885, the struggle over appointments began, and from then until the close of his first term the patriots in Maryland were clamoring to serve their country. The appointments did not come for some months, although one or two Maryland men, notably Eugene Higgins, were taken care of almost immediately. Higgins was made chief of the appointment division of the Treasury Department, and his selection raised a howl in the State. S. Teackle Wallis and other reformers went to Washington to protest to Mr. Cleveland and demand that he give some other element besides the organization recognition in Maryland. Fairly early after the inauguration Gov. Robert M. McLane, through the influence

of Mr. Gorman, was appointed Minister to France, and this appointment was received with satisfaction throughout Maryland. McLane was the type of man who abroad did credit to himself, his State and the country. He at once resigned the Governorship, and Henry Lloyd, of Dorchester county, who was then President of the Senate, succeeded him. Mr. Lloyd was then elected Governor by the Legislature of 1886, and served out the entire unexpired term of almost three years. In 1886 Edwin Warfield succeeded him as President of the Senate, but later accepted the position of Surveyor of the Port under Cleveland. Mr. Gorman unquestionably saw that McLane desired to go to the United States Senate and took the easiest method of getting him out of the way. Gorman came up for re-election at the session of 1886, and as this was in the middle of McLane's term he could have been a formidable candidate had he remained as Governor and chosen to make the fight. Other appointments followed. Gen. A. Leo Knott became Second Assistant Postmaster-General, Col. Frederick Raine was made Consul to Berlin, and Colonel Lee, a brother-in-law of ex-Governor John Lee Carroll, went to Austria as the American representative to that country.

Other consulships and many minor appointments for Maryland men came along quickly, but the big local places made by Cleveland upon the recommendation of Gorman were as follows:

Postmaster of Baltimore—I. Parker Veazey.

Collector of the Port—James B. Groome.

United States Marshal—Dr. George H. Cairnes.

Naval Officer—I. Freeman Rasin.

District Attorney—Thomas G. Hayes.

Surveyor of the Port—Edwin Warfield.

Internal Revenue Collector—James K. Roberts.

Morris A. Thomas was made Indian agent for the Government, and there was considerable trouble over his appointment. John J. Mahon became a special agent of the Treasury Department. Mr. Roberts, who had been named as Collector of Internal Revenue, died before he took the place and Cleveland appointed Gen. Andrew J. Chapman, who had been in Congress from the Fifth district several times and was a great friend of

the late Barnes Compton. President Cleveland some years afterward told Mr. Talbott that he had agreed upon the suggestion of Mr. Gorman to give him this place, but that later the recommendation was withdrawn and Chapman named. Mr. Talbott said he understood why this had been done and was glad now he had not gotten the place, although at the time he wanted it. I. Parker Veazey was made Postmaster chiefly through Mr. Rasin, who wanted to get him out of the way in the Mayoralty fight that was approaching. Veazey was a candidate for the Mayoralty nomination and his appointment promptly eliminated him and left the field clear. Dr. Cairnes was a Baltimore county man and was named through Congressman Talbott, who could make a place for his county but not for himself at that time. Warfield, Groome and Hayes were all made directly through Mr. Gorman, and it was he in all cases who had the final say before the names were put up to Mr. Cleveland.

## CHAPTER XIV

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The Brown-Hodges Mayoralty Campaign. Some of its Incidents and Results.

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Prior to the opening of the Brown-Hodges Mayoralty fight there had been for some months mutterings of the storm and the astute Mr. Rasin, whose ear was never very far from the ground, realized that a revolt of more than ordinary size was forming.

Some hint of what was coming showed as much as a year before, and Mr. Rasin saw clearly that the time was almost at hand when he either had to put Morrison and Slater out of business or they would put him out. He saw that the independent forces, backed by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, were gathering for a grand assault upon the organization citadel and that the plan of the Morrison-Slater element was to ally themselves with these influences in the hope of crushing him. He likewise saw that Gorman's enemies throughout the State considered it necessary to beat him in the city as the first step toward breaking Gorman's power and preventing his re-election to the Senate in 1886. That the Baltimore and Ohio influence would be against him he knew, because of happenings at Annapolis the year before which had not been very pleasing to the Baltimore and Ohio.

Taking all these things into consideration, the "Old Man" did what he always did when hard pressed or when the circumstances made him consider it necessary—put on his ticket men of unassailable integrity and perfumed the whole business by going into the camp of the enemy and taking therefrom as his candidate some eminently respectable business man with reform tendencies and an anti-Rasin record. He started the fumigation process in the Councilmanic election of 1884, when he sent to the City Council George May, Dr. David Streett, Jesse N. Bowen and a few others like them, but early in 1885 he played his big card when he picked James Hodges as his candidate for Mayor.

Now, Mr. Hodges had been for years strenuously fighting the ring. He was regarded as one of the professional reformers, and was hated and despised by the rank and file of the organization. He had denounced both Gorman and Rasin on the stump, and Rasin either knew what Hodges would do after he was elected or he must have thought the situation desperate, indeed, to have taken him.

As it turned out, Hodges made the strongest and straightest organization Mayor the town has ever had. He gave practically every appointment in his gift to the organization and became from the date of his inauguration the most rampant and uncompromising kind of an organization man. Also he regarded Rasin as the organization and the whole patronage of the city government was almost completely in Rasin's hands. It is generally accepted as true that Hodges was induced to run for Mayor with the understanding that at the end of his term of two years he would receive the nomination for Governor.

The man who persuaded him to take the nomination was the late Thomas M. Lanahan, who was his great personal friend and who became the prime minister of his administration. Mr. Hodges was convinced by Mr. Lanahan that with two years as Mayor, if he played the game straight with the organization, he would have the support of the city for the Gubernatorial nomination. Mr. Hodges liked the bait and took the job. He certainly did "deliver the goods" so far as the organization was concerned, but when the time came for the organization to make good its promise for the Governorship it left him with a suddenness that must have been a great shock.

Mr. Hodges was fooled completely up to that point, and had every reason to believe that Rasin was sincerely and earnestly for him. As a matter of fact, those who know say that Rasin and Gorman had agreed upon Elihu E. Jackson for Governor at the time he was made President of the Senate to succeed Edwin Warfield. Jackson was the man they wanted, and wanted all the time, but they did not let Jackson know this until the last minute.

Hodges had practically no fight at all for the Mayoralty nomination. It was on Saturday, September 26, 1885, that, after a

conference with Mr. Lanahan and Mr. Rasin, he made a public announcement that he would accept the nomination. Latrobe, who was then Mayor, knew nothing of the Hodges deal until he read it in the newspapers. He was staying at Deer Park with his family at the time, and hurried back to Baltimore with the announcement that he would be a candidate for renomination and proposed to submit his claims to the people in the primaries. He maintained this attitude until the day before the primaries, when he came out in a public card withdrawing from the field and advocating the regular Democratic nominee, who ever he might be.

As soon as the Hodges announcement became public the fusion movement for George William Brown started. William Keyser and John K. Cowen were the real brains of this movement, and the power back of them was the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The independent idea, however, was well brought to the front and the whole thing took on the appearance of a spontaneous revolt against the corruption and viciousness of the organization. In reality it was a well conceived carefully laid plan with nothing spontaneous about it. Judge Brown had been determined upon as the candidate months before, and the leaders had been planning for the fight a long time. Rasin knew this, but few others did.

On September 30 the city convention for the selection of candidates for the court clerkships was held, and Lewis N. Hopkins presided. In a strong speech he defended Mr. Rasin and deprecated the outcry concerning him. He attacked Mr. Keyser, whom he accused of coquetting with the Republican party and declared he was even then engaged in forming an "unholy alliance" with the Republican leaders. Ex-United States Marshal William F. Airey, Messrs. Adreon and Weatherby, as well as other Republican local leaders, were scored, and Mr. Hopkins asserted that Mr. Keyser and his friends had had the opportunity of selecting the organization candidate, but would not do so. At this convention the following nominations were made:

Clerk of Court of Common Pleas—John T. Gray.

Clerk of Circuit Court—Alvin Robertson.

Clerk of Criminal Court—John Bullock.

Register of Wills—Robert T. Banks.

After this the plans of the fusionists were matured rapidly, and on October 9 came the usual clarion address to the people, in which hot shot was poured into Rasin and Gorman and the citizens of both parties were urged to rise in their might and crush them. A citizens' meeting was called for that night in the Concordia Opera House for the purpose of nominating candidates. Mr. Keyser, Mr. Cowen and the other managers of the movement had seen to it that a distinctly nonpartisan flavor was given the announcement, and their alliance with the Republicans appeared to be an effective one. Some of the signers to this call were William Keyser, Gen. Felix Agnus, William H. Brune, C. Morton Stewart, William F. Airey, David Stewart, J. Harmanus Fisher, Richard M. Venable, William J. Hooper, J. Hall Pleasants, Charles J. Bonaparte, George M. Gill, George R. Gaither, Jr., Stewart Brown, E. H. Perkins, W. H. Spedden, Winfield Peters, John Hubert, Daniel L. Brinton, John C. Rose, Archibald H. Taylor, John F. Langhammer, Richard B. Tippett, W. Starr Gephart, J. Q. A. Hollaway, S. D. Schmucker, Dr. W. S. Booze, Thomas H. Morris, Talbot J. Albert, Thornton Rollins, D. Sterrett Gittings, J. Reese Pitcher and others. It can be seen by this that the stalwarts of both parties as well as the independents were interested in the movement. John W. Davis, representing the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, secured for the movement the support of "Doc" Slater, who was ready and anxious to join an independent movement to beat Rasin, but balked quickly when the name of Judge Brown was sprung on him as the candidate. Some time before this he had pleaded guilty before Judge Brown to the charge of maintaining a gambling house in the belief that he would be given a nominal sentence consisting of a light fine. Judge Brown sentenced him to a year in the penitentiary and Slater had to serve half of it before he was pardoned. Notwithstanding this, his support was finally obtained for Brown. Morrison, it seems, although at first disposed to join the movement, later cut away and supported Hodges. Although he was on the winning side, it did him no good, as, after Hodges was elected, Morrison got nothing, and he even lost what he had, as Mr. Hodges, through Mr. Rasin, promptly turned

out of office the Morrison men in the City Hall and replaced them with Rasin men.

The Democratic primaries were held on October 7, between 4 and 8 P. M. There was no contest and the organization delegates carried practically every precinct. The Mayoralty nominating convention met the next day in Raine's Hall. Samuel P. Thompson presided and Lewis N. Hopkins nominated Mr. Hodges. The nomination was seconded by Mr. Joseph S. Heuisler, and Mr. Hodges was unanimously chosen as the party's candidate for Mayor. The very next night the Independent Citizens' meeting at the Concordia Opera House was held and Judge Brown was nominated "amid tremendous enthusiasm." Thomas McCosker presided and Messrs. William Reynolds, William L. Marbury, Thomas MacKenzie and Robert J. Brant acted as secretaries. Some of those present were John K. Cowen, H. Irvine Keyser, Samuel J. Soper, Dr. Jacob W. Houck, John C. Rose, Edwin H. Fowler, Skipwith Wilmer, G. Harlan Williams, Dr. Eli J. Henkle, Thomas S. Baer, Robert D. Morrison, William Whitelock, William Winchester, George S. Brown, William Keyser, C. Morton Stewart, C. H. Classen, J. Hall Pleasants, George M. Gill, and others. Mr. S. Teackle Wallis with fiery eloquence and cutting sarcasm attacked Rasin, Gorman, Morrison, "Hack" Quinn and others.

"Do you," he asked the crowd, "consider Sonny Mahon a Democratic idea? Do you regard Morris Thomas as a Democratic principle?"

Speeches were also made by Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte and Col. Charles Marshall. Colonel Marshall brought down the house when in referring to Mr. Hodges he quoted the following couplet—

Poor Jimmy, poor Jimmy, he has left us,  
And left us sudden, too;  
And what it was that hit him,  
Poor Jimmy never knew.

John V. L. Findlay, Sebastian Brown and Gen. Adam E. King were also among the speakers, and the meeting was a great and enthusiastic one. The organization leaders were flayed and their methods held up to scorn. Hodges was depicted as a deluded

person caught in the net and there was no limit to the denunciation heaped upon the men back of him. Immediately after this the organization forces gathered at the same place in a big meeting. Mr. Bernard Carter, Isidor Rayner, who was on the ticket as a candidate for the State Senate, Mr. Hodges and others spoke in defense of Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin. They pitched into the reformers and attempted to show the political deal that had been made between the Republicans and the independent leaders. Slater came in for a good share of the attention of the organization speakers. Mr. Henry Wootten, of Howard county, was a big figure in this fight, and, on the stump as well as in the newspapers, once more reiterated his charges that Gorman and Higgins perpetrated frauds in Howard county of a particularly flagrant character and offered to deposit \$10,000 in the hands of Mr. Hodges if either Mr. Gorman or Higgins would sue him. He defied Mr. Carter on behalf of Senator Gorman to deny his charges or to bring suit. In reply Mr. Carter, Mr. John P. Poe and Mr. Rayner riddled the reformers and attempted to tear the mask off the independent fight and show what really was back of it. William Pinkney Whyte joined in the fight against Hodges and Rasin, chiefly, it was believed because he thought the defeat of the organization ticket would lead to the defeat of Mr. Gorman. He took the stump and had some hot interchanges with Mr. Hodges.

Meeting after meeting was held by both sides and the whole town was aroused. Mr. William L. Marbury, in a speech at Hollins Hall on October 22, created a sensation by declaring that John F. Weyler, then a City Councilman and now warden of the penitentiary, had entered into a contract in 1882 with the Republicans to swap votes to Hart B. Holton, the Republican candidate for Congress. Mr. Marbury said he had sworn evidence to prove this charge, but his assertion was hissed and hooted. Cries of "It is not true!" "Put him out!" etc., interrupted him. Half the crowd applauded and the rest hissed. Several fights started, and one or two men were ejected by the police. Mr. Marbury quietly waited until the uproar had subsided and then repeated his assertion.

"Now," he said, "that the side show is over I want to say that

the politics of the Seventeenth ward are controlled by a dirty clique of rowdies." He continued his speech, being frequently hissed, but more frequently applauded.

The Fusionists had a nominating committee composed of J. Hall Pleasants, Leon Seliger, S. Teackle Wallis, W. J. Hooper, Felix Agnus, William Keyser, Richard M. Venable, Robert H. Smith, German H. Hunt, James H. Parrish, George S. Brown, J. D. Mallory, J. William Kines, Thomas Deford, John E. Marshall, John K. Shaw, John T. Mason, R. Peter Thompson, Daniel Donnell, Thomas J. Hayward, Thomas White, Bishop Alexander Wayman, Charles C. Homer, T. Burling Hull, N. Rufus Gill, John B. Dixon, J. Q. A. Hollaway, W. W. Johnson, W. H. Perkins and William S. Young. This nominating committee fixed up the slate. The Republicans made no nominations at all and the candidates in the field were either Democrats or Fusionists.

Although the campaign was a short one, it was waged with an almost unprecedented bitterness and heat. To offset the attacks of the independent leaders, such as Wallis, Wootten, Marbury and Keyser, the organization managers had formed a business men's league, in which were enlisted many of the most reputable and substantial citizens. Hodges had his friends, too, among the independents, and although the great bulk of them were with Judge Brown, there were a number who stood by him and swallowed Rasin for his sake, just as Rasin knew they would. The Business Men's Democratic Association arranged the final grand rally of the campaign, which was said to have been the largest political meeting held in the city up to that time. The president of the league was J. McKenny White and the vice-presidents were Lloyd L. Jackson, L. N. Hopkins and Clinton P. Paine. The latter also acted as treasurer, and Willoughby N. Smith was the secretary. At this last meeting a special committee to make the arrangements was composed of Walter B. McAfee, H. A. Parr, C. E. Cregan, Murray Hanson, Dr. Thomas J. Boykin, Gen. John Gill, Robert Ober, and Simon Rosenberg. The speakers included Bernard Carter, John E. Hurst, Henry Page, H. Kyd Douglas, J. McKenny White, William T. Biedler, and others. Those who acted as vice-presidents of the meeting were Hugh

Sisson, Ernest Knabe, Christian Devries, Albert Ritchie, Frank H. Hambleton, T. Edward Hambleton, M. Gillett Gill, Dr. J. Pembroke Thom, Joseph Friedenwald, John P. Poe, Charles W. Baer, R. W. Cator, R. C. Davidson, J. W. Horner, James L. McLane, John G. Harvey, Prof. Allan P. Smith, Dr. John Van Bibber, Young O. Wilson, Edson M. Schryver, James E. Tyson, W. J. C. Dulany and James Carroll.

By this time the excitement of the campaign was at white heat and men were taking active part who had never before been interested in politics. The business friends of Hodges came strongly to his rescue and the Fusionists redoubled their attacks. Bitter words were interchanged by speakers on the stump and the ugliest sort of charges were freely made. The newspapers teemed with open letters from the candidates and their friends, and the whole town was in an uproar.

As has been stated, John J. Mahon was the man who really managed the details of this fight for Mr. Rasin. It was Mahon who went from ward to ward, fixing up a deal here, framing up a hand there. Much of the money used by the organization in this fight was spent as directed by Mahon, and it was he who discovered the weakness in the armor of the Fusionists and succeeded in weaning from them some of the more influential of the Republican leaders. Those of the Republicans who held places in the custom house were promised that they would not be turned out if the Democrats won and inducements of other kinds were offered to others, all of which had its effect, and it is a fact, that Mr. Hodges in this fight had the support of no inconsiderable number of Republicans.

The election was held on October 28, and Hodges was elected by about 2,500 majority—the smallest by which any Democratic candidate had won in years. It, however, was sufficiently large to be decisive, and it crushed for the time, at least, the hope of the independent element of breaking the power of either Gorman or Rasin. It left Mr. Rasin supreme. His most formidable rival—Slater—had tied his fortunes up with those of Judge Brown, and his defeat left him without a leg to stand on. Morrison, Rasin's other rival in the city, supported Hodges, but after that gentleman became Mayor he got no more recognition than

he would have got had he opposed him. The whole thing was in Rasin's hands, and Hodges, with that hope of the Governorship ever before him and Lanahan always at his side, gave to the organization or Rasin, for they had then become the same thing, just exactly what it wanted. The power of this patronage placed Rasin undisputedly at the top of the heap, and from that time until his death he never had a serious rival in his control of the local organization.

Hodges suited him even better than Latrobe, and in no administration at the City Hall did he ever have as full sway as during that of Mayor Hodges. Slater was down and out and Morrison had nothing with which to reward his friends or hold his power. Hence Rasin was the one man to whom those within the organization who wanted either nominations or places could look.

The result of the Hodges-Brown campaign also made it impossible for the enemies of Mr. Gorman to make much of a showing against him in the legislative fight, and for a while it disorganized and disheartened the independent element in the city. The leaders of this element, however, not for a moment ceased fighting. They simply waited for the next opportunity.

## CHAPTER XV

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How the Bosses Determined to Nominate Jackson for Governor and How the Trick Was Turned.

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The first step toward making Elihu E. Jackson Governor of Maryland was taken in the last hour of the last night of the session of the Legislature of 1886, although he was not nominated for a year and a half after that and was never permitted to feel sure of the nomination until after he had been named. It is a fact, that Gorman and Rasin as far back as that had agreed upon him as the successor of Lloyd and on that night they indicated this in a way that now seems significant enough, but which at the time entirely escaped the politicians.

Edwin Warfield was President of the Senate at that session and had the unanimous indorsement of the Maryland Congressional delegation and Mr. Gorman for the position of Surveyor of the Port under President Cleveland. On the last day of the session word came from Mr. Gorman that on the day following President Cleveland would send Mr. Warfield's name to the United States Senate for this place. Fifteen minutes before the State Senate adjourned sine die Mr. Warfield resigned the Presidency of that body and in accord with the wishes of Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin the Democratic Senators unanimously elected Mr. Jackson, who was then the representative of Wicomico county in the Senate, to succeed him. Mr. Jackson presided for 15 minutes and the session came to an end. Brief as it was, however, it was long enough to give to him the State prominence and dignity planned by Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin, and members of that Senate who are alive today say they do not understand how they then failed to see the hand Gorman and Rasin were playing.

With a perfect understanding between them these two men permitted a fine, lively fight to develop over the nomination and kept the aspirants, including Jackson, guessing up to the last

minute, when they shifted their votes with an ease and completeness that made the whole struggle seem absurd.

After the election of Hodges as Mayor of Baltimore the independent forces lost heart and the Democratic legislative and State ticket triumphed by more than 20,000 majority. J. Frank Turner was re-elected as State Comptroller and Col. Spencer C. Jones was re-elected as Clerk of the Court of Appeals. Mr. Edwin Warfield was chairman of the State executive committee that managed the Democratic fight and Mr. Gorman's hand was at the helm and his energies concentrated upon seeing that there was no break in the ranks such as would endanger his re-election. Some of the bitterness of the Brown-Hodges campaign cropped out, and an indication of this feeling is shown when as mild a mannered man as Mr. George Cator would say such a thing as this in a speech made in the interests of the Gorman-Rasin ticket:

"Mr. James Hodges and Mr. John E. Hurst are worth to Baltimore 100 such men as Colonel Marshall and his friends, who if they left the city would only be missed by the noise they made."

This was one of the more gentle and kindly of the criticisms passed in that fight which, though one-sided toward the end, was one in which neither side spared the other. The result swept aside all obstacles from Gorman's path and his re-election to the Senate was a triumphant and overwhelming one, hailed by his friends throughout Maryland as a vindication, as well as a victory. The Legislature when it met chose Edwin Warfield as the President of the Senate and Joseph B. Seth as Speaker of the House of Delegates.

The complete membership was as follows:

#### SENATE.

Allegany—A. Beall McKaig.

Anne Arundel—Nicholas Brewer.

Baltimore City—Harry Welles Rusk, Isidor Rayner, Thomas G. Hayes.

Baltimore County—C. Bohn Slingluff.

Caroline—Dr. C. W. Goldsborough.

Cecil—Clinton McCullough.

Charles—Richard H. Edelen.

Carroll—T. Herbert Shriver.  
Calvert—Edward H. Ireland.  
Dorchester—Joseph H. Johnson.  
Frederick—Noah Bowlus.  
Garrett—R. T. Browning.  
Harford—Dr. John Sappington.  
Howard—Edwin Warfield.  
Kent—W. D. Burchinal.  
Montgomery—George Peter.  
Prince George's—Charles T. Clagett.  
Queen Anne's—W. T. P. Turpin.  
Somerset—Thomas S. Hodson.  
St. Mary's—R. Johnson Colton.  
Talbot—Theophilus Tunis.  
Washington—J. Clarence Lane.  
Wicomico—E. E. Jackson.  
Worcester—Samuel K. Dennis.

#### HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Allegany—E. C. Gaskett, James Dando, J. Hose, Albert Holle.  
Anne Arundel—John Ireland, E. C. Gott, M. T. Howard, G. H. Potee.

Baltimore City—First District—J. R. Willing, Edward Fitzgerald, John Roney, Peter J. Campbell, Richard J. Penn, Charles H. Evans. Second—C. Dodd McFarland, Patrick Reilly, Rodwell Turner, Pembroke Lee Thom, L. W. Gunther, Timothy Hayes. Third—Charles A. Hoffman, Lewis Reitz, Harry A. Schulz, John Durding, H. C. Seebo, Louis C. McCusker.

Baltimore County—John Hubner, Walter R. Townsend, William Pole, J. S. Baldwin, Michael O'Hara, J. J. Lindsay.

Calvert—Thomas Parran, F. Gantt.

Caroline—John Rumbold, John Y. Graham.

Carroll—J. E. Beasman, S. H. Hoffacker, Michael Buchanan, E. B. Arnold.

Cecil—R. L. Thomas, S. Granville Richards, Alfred B. McVey.

Charles—A. G. Chapman, Philip R. Sasscer, W. Mitchell Muschette.

Dorchester—Benjamin L. Smith, J. M. Robertson, Frank H. Vincent.

Frederick—Carlton Shafer, F. L. Stoner, O. T. Crampton, W. H. Todd.

Garrett—George L. Michaels, Silas Weiner.

Harford—Jacob H. Plowman, Benjamin Silver, Harris Archer, J. Morton McNabb.

Howard—William Clark, Reuben D. Johnson.

Kent—J. Fletcher Wilson, Lewis C. Justes.

Montgomery—Philip D. Laird, Charles W. Crawford, A. L. Graeves.

Prince George's—Fillmore Beall, William W. Wilson, De Wilton Snowden.

Queen Anne's—W. W. Busteed, E. C. Legg, William Dudley.

St. Mary's—Francis V. King, Charles F. Norris.

Somerset—William H. Gale, J. A. Hearn, T. E. James.

Talbot—Joseph B. Seth, F. A. Benson, Paul Winchester.

Washington—Alexander Armstrong, Alexander M. Flory, George M. Stonebraker, Edward Stake.

Wicomico—Henry W. Anderson, Asbury Q. Hamblen, John W. Willing.

Worcester—Edward White, John M. Henman, Joshua B. Waters.

One of the first acts of this session was the election of Henry Lloyd as Governor, who had by virtue of his office of President of the Senate in 1884 succeeded McLane when the latter became Minister to France. At the next session it became the duty of the Legislature to elect a Governor for the balance of the term, and Lloyd was chosen without opposition. This was promptly followed up by the re-election of Senator Gorman. The caucus was held on January 13. Harry Welles Rusk presided and Thomas G. Hayes nominated Gorman in a highly eulogistic speech, in which he ascribed his hold upon the masses of the people to the fact that "he is of the people and for the people and against the improper encroachments of the moneyed monopolists and corporations of our land." After 1895 Mr. Hayes underwent a great change of mind and heart toward Mr. Gorman.

Equally eulogistic speeches were made by Senator Rayner and ex-Governor Warfield, the latter of whom said: "The feelings of pleasure and pride that fill me demand utterance, and

I must say to you in behalf of myself, my colleagues and my constituents that we are proud of Arthur P. Gorman. No man can know Mr. Gorman as I know him without learning to love and respect him. Democracy had never a safer or abler leader and Maryland never a wiser or more faithful representative in the United States Senate."

Both Mr. Warfield and Mr. Rayner also radically modified their admiration for Mr. Gorman in later years.

Gorman was formally elected on January 20, receiving every Democratic vote. The Republicans voted for Louis E. McComas, who was placed in nomination by Thomas Parran, of Calvert county. On the day of the election Rasin, Morrison, Baughman, Hines, Compton, Talbott and Gorman's friends from all over the State gathered in Annapolis, and the next day Gorman himself came down. Robert Garrett, then president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, with a party of friends, including John W. Davis, Outerbridge Horsey, James Sloane, L. Victor Baughman, J. McKenny White and others, arrived with Mr. Garrett in his private car, and that night Governor Lloyd gave a big reception in honor of Mr. Gorman at the Executive Mansion. Because of an attack of rheumatism, Governor Lloyd had to remain seated during the reception, and President Warfield and Speaker Seth, standing side by side, introduced the guests to the Governor and Senator. Garrett and his friends attended, and he and Gorman met upon friendly terms and divided the honors of the occasion. Gorman was forced to make a speech, in which he thanked his friends for their support and eulogized the party.

The next event of interest at this session was the fight between John S. Gittings and Stevenson Archer for the State Treasurer-ship. Gittings was then Treasurer and had been promised re-election by the leaders, who, when the time came, "threw him down" hard. Walter R. Townsend, now reading clerk of the Senate, was then a member of the House from Baltimore county and was decidedly independent in his proclivities, although a strong Democrat. Mr. Townsend had been pledged to Gittings before he was elected, and despite the strenuous efforts made to break him away he stuck to him to the last. Gittings did not real-

ize that the opposition to him was of a formidable nature until told so by Townsend, and then he began to fight.

Up to within a day or so of the Treasurership caucus Townsend managed his fight for him and believed that had he been allowed by Mr. Gittings to continue to the end he could have elected him. At the last minute, however, Mr. Gittings broke up the arrangements made by Mr. Townsend and placed his fight in the hands of Mr. Oregon R. Benson, father of Carville D. Benson. The caucus was held on January 29 and Archer was elected by a vote of 61 to 37. It was at this session that the street railway companies made an attempt to repeal the park tax, the father of which wise measure was Thomas Swann. A big lobby went to Annapolis to push this bill through, but THE SUN denounced the corporations and the scheme and aroused the people of the city to the extent of holding a massmeeting in protest. On the final day of the session the bill was killed, the city delegation being forced to line up against it.

In the fall following this session came the Congressional elections of 1886 in which Isidor Rayner and Harry Welles Rusk were sent to Congress for the first time. Barnes Compton defeated Dr. Washington G. Tuck in the Fifth district. Rayner beat John V. L. Findlay in the Fourth district and in the Sixth Col. L. Victor Baughman made a gallant fight against great odds, losing by less than 300 votes. The men elected were:

First District—Charles H. Gibson.

Second—Frank T. Shaw.

Third—Harry Welles Rusk.

Fourth—Isidor Rayner.

Fifth—Barnes Compton.

Sixth—Louis E. McComas.

It was in this campaign that Mr. Rayner, who had run for the State Senate against T. Wallis Blakistone and resigned after the first session to accept the nomination for Congress, in a speech replying to the charge of fraud in the primaries, said: "I would rather sign a contract never again to accept office at the hands of my countrymen than be elected to the highest pinnacle of fame through one fraudulent ballot or one tampered with vote."

In reply to this Mr. S. Teackle Wallis a night or two later, after quoting Mr. Rayner's words, said: "And when we consider that within the sound of his voice there was not a man, except himself, who did not know that in those primaries there was cast scarcely one vote that was not a fraudulent one and hardly a ballot that was not tampered with, our powers of description fail and we can only echo the desparing cry of the late Bill Arp, 'Geerusalem! where is the cussin' man?'"

The first move in the State campaign of 1887 came early—June 8—when the Republican State Central Committee was called together by Chairman H. Clay Naill. Some of those present were Stephen R. Mason, William F. Airey, Dr. Washington G. Tuck, George W. Clark, William T. Henderson, Calvin D. Wright, John F. Thomas, Adam E. King, Talbot J. Albert, John F. Gore, John T. Ensor, R. W. Pearce, H. M. Clabaugh, B. H. Miller, John W. Cable, Charles W. Adams, C. George Peters, T. S. Hodson, B. Frank Lankford, Alonzo D'Arcy, George W. King and others. The situation was discussed in a general way, and it was decided to hold the convention late—August 24—in order to see what tack the independent Democrats would take. The independent leaders adopted a policy altogether unexpected and without precedent up to that time. The "fusion" game had been tried time and again without success, and Cowen, Keyser and the independent leaders bent upon the destruction of Gorman and Rasin and their candidates realized that in the Brown-Hodges campaign the Republican politicians had not been loyal to the fusion candidates. They saw clearly that in a copartnership such as had been effected in that fight the Republican organization could not be relied upon to "deliver the goods." Hence, it was Mr. Cowen's idea to take the reform wing of the Democratic party bodily over to the Republican camp and, letting the Republicans name straight party men as their candidates, get in behind them. And that is what he did in the brilliant and bold manner characteristic of the man.

When the Republican convention met Louis E. McComas presided, and some of the conspicuous party men present were George L. Wellington, John C. Rose, Milton G. Urner, Edward

Stake, Adlai P. Barnes, W. W. McIntire, William F. Airey, Sydney E. Mudd, Harry F. Clabaugh and others. This was the ticket named:

For Governor—Walter B. Brooks, of Baltimore city.

For Comptroller—Robert B. Dixon, of Talbot county.

For Attorney-General—Francis Miller, of Montgomery county

While Mr. Miller was making his speech of acceptance, Mr. Cowen, accompanied by Daniel Houck, of Allegany county, who had gone after him in a cab, entered the hall. He made a forceful and eloquent speech, in which he denounced Gormanism and Rasinism, declared that Democratic promises of reform were "not worth a damn," and pledged himself and his friends not only to the support of Mr. Brooks and the Republican State ticket, but to the Republican municipal ticket, too, provided some man like David L. Bartlett or Alexander Shaw be named for Mayor. William L. Marbury, after Cowen closed, made a speech indorsing what Mr. Cowen had said, and the two speeches aroused tremendous enthusiasm among the Republicans, who saw for the first time in years real hope of electing their ticket. E. J. D. Cross and H. Irvine Cross had seats in the convention. Cowen's entrance and speech were not a spontaneous matter. The whole thing had been carefully planned as a substitute for the usual fusion movement against the Democrats by which the independents nominated the ticket and invited the Republicans to fall in line behind it.

The Democratic convention was held nearly a month earlier—July 27. At the time the candidates discussed and considered in the field were E. E. Jackson, L. Victor Baughman, Frank Brown, James Hodges and Stevenson Archer. The name of Gen. A. Leo Knott was also spoken of, as was that of Henry D. Farnandis. Frank Brown was then postmaster, having succeeded I. Parker Veazey, who resigned. He had not made much of a fight for the nomination outside of his own county, and was at heart for Baughman.

Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin were "under cover" for Jackson all the time. They knew they could make him when they pleased, but no one was taken into their confidence, not even Jackson. Rasin was on the surface for Hodges and had to be because of

the promises made for him by Lanahan and because of the extent to which Hodges had rewarded his friends. He had to demonstrate to Hodges first that he could not be made. Gorman was ostensibly hands off, and Baughman made a great fight. With his own county and the other Western Maryland delegations he had a strong following, and his personal popularity gained him other votes. Edwin Warfield, who was a delegate from Howard, was his friend and voted for him, as did the other Howard county delegate. Brown and the Carroll county votes were ready to go for him if he needed them to win, and he and his friends were full of hope. Jackson had back of him the solid Eastern Shore, and that was all he did have. John Walter Smith was a delegate from Worcester and led the Jackson forces. Smith and Jackson, with Robert F. Brattan and other Eastern Shore leaders, maintained headquarters at Barnum's Hotel, and the night before the convention the hotel lobby presented a scene of excitement and life, with the candidates entertaining and their friends hustling for them. When the convention met Mr. Bernard Carter was chosen as the presiding officer. The late Judge James McSherry was a delegate from Frederick and the leader of the Baughman forces. Governor Lloyd, Thomas J. Keating, J. F. C. Talbott, Col. Buchanan Schley, Charles B. Roberts, Frank T. Shaw, John Gill, Congressman Rayner and Rusk and hundreds of other prominent Democrats were on hand.

Gorman called the convention to order and then left the stage. The platform was adopted, indorsing Cleveland and his Administration and the nominations were then called for. Congressman Shaw nominated Frank Brown, Judge McSherry nominated Baughman, William S. Young named Stevenson Archer and James E. Ellegood nominated Jackson. The first ballot resulted as follows:

Jackson, 34; Baughman, 28; Hodges, 25; Brown, 21, and Archer, 9.

Three more ballots were taken with slight variations, but with the order of the candidates remaining unchanged. The fifth ballot was:

Jackson, 36; Baughman, 34; Hodges, 22; Brown, 20, and Archer, 5.

While the fifth ballot was being taken Gorman, who had been sitting in a box, had a short conference with Rasin, and then sent for Hines, Bannon and Talbott. The latter was for anyone except Baughman—not because he did not like Baughman, but because he happened by chance that year to have 11 Catholics on his county ticket and he feared that if a Catholic were nominated for Governor a religious issue might be raised which would endanger the whole ticket. His delegates had been voting for Brown, but he saw that Baughman could only be beaten with Jackson and had for several ballots been anxious to break away.

When he was called into the box Mr. Gorman said: "We must end this business now." Mr. Talbott said: "Well, my county is going for Jackson and that will settle it." "Yes," said Mr. Gorman, "but we had better wait until the next ballot." It was then agreed that on the next ballot a break should be made and Jackson nominated.

While this conference in the box had been going on the taking of the fifth ballot had ended and the roll-call for the sixth started. They had already called Allegany county. Mr. Talbott then and there made up his mind that he would consider this the "next" ballot and would take no chances, as there was a suspicion in his mind that Rasin and Gorman might yet switch to Baughman and he wanted to beat him at all hazards—considered it necessary from a political standpoint. Accordingly, he sent for N. Charles Burke, now judge of the Court of Appeals, but then one of the 11 Catholics on the ticket—being the candidate for State's Attorney.

"Go down there," said Mr. Talbott, "and tell those seven delegates I say to vote for Jackson on this ballot." Mr. Burke was only too glad to get this message, as he, too, saw the danger in Baughman's nomination for the Baltimore county ticket, and a minute later the vote of the county was cast for Jackson. That started it. There was a rush for the band wagon and when the smoke cleared away Jackson was nominated, the final vote being:

Jackson, 65; Baughman, 34; Hodges, 0; Brown, 13, and Archer, 5.

That Gorman and Rasin had things absolutely in their hands can be seen by a comparison of the fifth and sixth ballots. On the last ballot, when the "word" went out for Jackson, the 22 votes that had been up to that point cast for Hodges were bodily transferred to Jackson, and Mr. Hodges was left in the humiliating position of having his name before the convention without a single vote to stick to him. Brown held 13 of his votes, Baughman kept his 34 and Archer the 5 from his county. Hodges alone was without a friend. The transfer could have been effected and the nomination made just as easily on the first or second ballot as on the sixth, but both Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin preferred to play the game the other way.

Immediately after the nomination Mr. Talbott got hold of Mr. Jackson, put him in a carriage and drove with him to the hotel. On the way he showed him how it was he who had led the break for him and got him to promise to retain Jesse K. Hines as Insurance Commissioner and to give Talbott the position of State Weigher for a friend, both of which promises were kept.

The convention took a recess until night. During the intervening hours Mr. Gorman had a talk with General Baughman and pacified him to the extent of inducing him to accept the nomination for Comptroller. In so doing it has been held by Colonel Baughman's friends he made the political blunder of his life. Had he refused the nomination and started in then, as did Frank Brown, to make his second fight for the nomination, with his great personal popularity and strength, there is little doubt that he could have landed the prize four years later. He yielded, however, to that charm of manner which Mr. Gorman possessed to such an unusual degree.

After getting Baughman's consent, Mr. Gorman took him with him to Jackson's room in Barnum's Hotel. There he found Jackson, Smith, Robert F. Brattan and one or two other Eastern Shore leaders.

After congratulating Jackson, Mr. Gorman asked: "Mr. Jackson, will your friends vote for Baughman for Comptroller?" Mr. Jackson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Brattan and the others expressed themselves as only too delighted.

"Now," continued Mr. Gorman, "will your friends vote for William Pinkney Whyte for Attorney-General?"

"What?" cried Mr. Brattan. "Can you stand for that?"

"Well," said Mr. Gorman, with a smile, "Rasin thinks it is too expensive for him to have Whyte's friends sulking here in the city, and if I can stand it, I guess you fellows ought not to have much trouble."

That was about all there was to it. When the convention reconvened Baughman and Whyte were both nominated by acclamation.

Whatever else may be said about this fight, there is no doubt that Gorman and Rasin played mighty good politics in the make-up of their ticket.

## CHAPTER XVI

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### The Political Warfare Between A. P. Gorman and John K. Cowen. Legislatures of 1888 and 1890.

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About this time, when Jackson was nominated for Governor in 1887, Maryland politics resolved itself into a duel between Arthur P. Gorman and John K. Cowen. Gorman furnished the brains and the money on one side and Cowen on the other. The recognized head of the independent Democrats of the State, Cowen was also the power that moved and swayed the Republican machine. Without him it made no move. Not many of the independent followers of Mr. Cowen and few of the professional reformers realized the extent of his dominance in the Republican organization, but in campaign after campaign he directed its policy and practically selected its candidates. In this game he well concealed his hand. He had two ways of playing it. Sometimes he had the independents nominate candidates and then, compelling the Republican leaders to refrain from putting a ticket in the field, swung them in behind the men he had picked. At others he forced the Republicans to nominate men on their ticket acceptable to him and then led his independent and reform following bodily over to the Republican camp. In either case his aim was the same—to effect a combination of forces that would crush Gorman. In a way he was as much of a boss as Gorman, and his fights were not always inspired by pure patriotism either. There were railroad reasons back of his attack at the start and the Baltimore and Ohio, in politics as in other matters, was always the first consideration with him.

Gorman saw clearly the control exercised by Cowen over the Republican machine and recognized perfectly that Cowen was the real force that menaced him.

"John K. Cowen, the man from Ohio, he said in a speech in the Jackson campaign, "is the man back of all this. He is fur-

nishing the brains, the Republicans the body and, I suppose, he will also furnish the fat."

Realizing that the Republicans had not supported George William Brown in the Hodges-Brown fight with the zeal he had hoped, Mr. Cowen adopted his other plan for the 1887 campaign. After his speech in the Republican State Convention, in which he pledged himself and his friends to the support of the Republican State ticket, he set himself to work to bring about the nomination by the Republicans as their Mayoralty candidate of the man he had suggested in his speech—David L. Bartlett. In this he succeeded and the Republican leaders complaisantly did his bidding. Then Bartlett hesitated to make the fight and Cowen promptly came to the front with his independent Democratic wing. A meeting was held at 14 East Lexington street on September 15, and among those who petitioned Mr. Bartlett to accept the nomination, pledging him their support, were Roger W. Cull, Francis K. Carey, W. Starr Gephart, W. Cabell Bruce, John E. Semmes, Allan McLane, S. Teackle Wallis, Thomas S. Baer, William Reynolds, Joseph Packard, John K. Cowen, Richard M. Venable, J. Southgate Lemmon, E. J. D. Cross, H. Irvine Keyser, W. Irvine Cross, John Gill of R., Archibald B. Coulter, William Winchester, H. C. McComas, George C. Hooper and R. Brent Keyser.

Mr. Bartlett yielded and Mr. Cowen then let the Republicans fix up for themselves the minor places on the ticket, holding them off, however, from making any nomination for State's Attorney, that being almost as vitally important a place as the Mayoralty. At this time Charles G. Kerr was State's Attorney and was renominated by the Democrats. Mr. Edgar H. Gans had for eight years been the Deputy State's Attorney, and had made for himself a fine record for independence and ability. One night before the Republican City Convention Mr. Gans was invited to dinner at the home of Mr. Wallis. There he found, besides Mr. Wallis, Mr. Cowen, Mr. Keyser, Mr. Cross and a few others. At this dinner the proposition was made to Mr. Gans to run as an independent candidate for the State's Attorneyship and he was assured of the Republican indorsement. Mr. Gans was extremely reluctant to make the fight, chiefly because Mr. Kerr, the regular

Democratic candidate, was his chief. He was finally induced to declare himself, and a few days later the Republicans unanimously indorsed his candidacy and refrained from naming a candidate.

It had been intended by Mr. Rasin to nominate for Mayor Christian Devries, but Mr. Devries declined at the last moment on the score of his health, and the nomination again went to Latrobe almost by default. George May was on the Democratic ticket as a candidate for Sheriff after having served out his term in the Council. Another Democratic candidate indorsed by the Republicans at the instance of Cowen was Judge J. Upshur Dennis, who had been appointed to the Supreme Bench to succeed Judge Fisher when Judge Fisher resigned. Financed, directed and inspired by Cowen, the campaign was one of tremendous bitterness and the very limit was reached in denunciation and abuse. So far did the reformers go in characterizing the Democratic leaders and the Democratic officeholders as scoundrels and thieves and such outrageous practices were attributed to them that THE SUN, which took no part in this campaign beyond printing the news, was led to counsel moderation upon the stump and urge that the bitterness and ferocity of the attacks were injuring the State and city in the eyes of the country.

This editorial led Col. Charles Marshall to reply in a speech in which he ridiculed the attitude of THE SUN, spoke of an editorial it had printed in the heat of the campaign upon "The Pursuit of Happiness" and made his famous statement that "THE SUN advocated happiness in a guarded sort of manner." Stevenson Archer had at this time succeeded Gorman as chairman of the State Central Committee and Daniel E. Conklin was chairman of the Republican State Committee.

It was in this campaign that William Cabell Bruce strongly advocated the election of Bartlett and engaged in a heated newspaper controversy with ex-Mayor James Hodges, whom Mr. Bruce, in a characteristic letter, flayed as inconsistent and absurd. Mr. S. Davies Warfield appeared in this fight for the first time. He had become a friend and ardent admirer of Mr. Cowen's and for years was close personally and politically to him. He was, in fact, his righthand man in most of the fights

Mr. Cowen made from this time until his death. Mr. Warfield came out in an open letter for the whole Republican ticket, State and municipal, denounced Gormanism and Rasinism and declared that "the only means left to real Democrats for suppressing the fraudulent practices by which such men as Latrobe and Gorman disgraced their party and used it for their own base purposes was to support the Republican ticket. He appealed to the workmen of the city, who, he declared, had elected his father Mayor in 1875, to vote against Latrobe and Jackson.

William L. Marbury, William Cabell Bruce, William Keyser and others took the stump against the Democrats, and all over the city hot shot was poured into Rasin and Gorman. The Reform League, which had then come into existence, made charges of registration frauds, which were indignantly repudiated by Chairman Archer for the Democrats, who in turn charged that Mr. Cowen and the Republicans were importing negroes into the State for repeating purposes. The first of the Mt. Carmel meetings, which have since been held every four years, occurred in this campaign, and Gorman made his main speech of the campaign there. "It is too much to expect," he said, "that Mr. Wallis should tell the truth about me in this fight. I for one am accustomed to abuse and care nothing about it. General Latrobe is, I think, like me and would feel disappointed if he were not abused every day by the other side. I do say, however, that at the head of this syndicate of villifiers of their State stands John K. Cowen—the man from Ohio—who has been treated with great kindness by our people."

In the city the regular Democrats held many meetings in a big effort to arouse enthusiasm and keep the tide turned their way. On October 6 a big massmeeting was held, at which speeches were made by Judge Fisher, Congressman Isidor Rayner, Attorney-General William Pinkney Whyte and other prominent party men. George May's candidacy brought strength to the ticket, and the young men of the Baltimore and Maryland Clubs attended the meetings and hotly campaigned for him. William Shepard Bryan, James P. Gorter, Stephen Bonsal, R. M. Sutton, T. Edward Hambleton, N. Rufus Gill, Harry Parr, William P. Harvey, Dr. Alan P. Smith, and J. Seth Hopkins

were some of those who supported the ticket with enthusiasm. The fight got hotter and hotter, and for a while the Democratic leaders were frightened. The election gave the Mayoralty again to Latrobe by more than 4,000 plurality. George May was elected Sheriff and Charles G. Kerr again became State's Attorney. William J. Ogden was the Labor party's candidate for Mayor and received 112 votes. Jackson's majority for Governor was more than 10,000, and the whole Democratic State ticket went through without a break. Mr. Summerfield Baldwin was the Prohibition candidate for Governor in this campaign, and the call for a constitutional convention was defeated.

The personnel of the Legislature of 1888 elected with Jackson was as follows:

#### SENATE.

Allegany—W. M. McKaig.  
Anne Arundel—J. Wirt Randall.  
Baltimore County—James J. Lindsay.  
Baltimore City—John B. Wentz, Charles Ridgely Goodwin  
and Charles S. Adams.  
Frederick—Milton G. Urner.  
Garrett—R. T. Browning.  
Harford—John Sappington.  
Howard—William B. Peter.  
Kent—William B. Burchinal.  
Montgomery—George Peter.  
Calvert—W. C. Somervill.  
Carroll—P. J. Bennett.  
Cecil—Clinton McCullough.  
Charles—R. H. Edelin.  
Caroline—G. W. Goldsborough.  
Dorchester—James H. Johnson.  
Prince George's—Charles T. Clagett.  
Queen Anne's—John B. Brown.  
St. Mary's—R. Johnson Colton.  
Somerset—Robert F. Brattan.  
Talbot—T. T. Tunis.

Washington—Edward Stake.

Wicomico—E. Stanley Toadvin.

Worcester—Samuel K. Dennis.

#### HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Allegany—J. N. Benson, William Broderick, J. A. Cunningham, and W. Scott Fuller.

Anne Arundel—T. John Bowie, James Cheston, S. V. Baker and George W. Hatch.

Baltimore County—John Hubner, George B. Gott, Charles R. Whiteford, D. A. Boone, J. Nelson Darby and John A. Smith.

Baltimore City—First district, W. H. Thompson, E. D. Fitzgerald, Peter J. Campbell, John Hannibal and John B. Keplinger; Second, Alexander H. Robertson, Patrick Reilly, Henry Barger, Charles D. Gaither, James W. Denny and George Colton; Third, John McKnight, John B. Nichols, Martin R. Joyce, John A. McGarry, John H. Schaffer, Jr., and William Sanders Carr.

Calvert—L. McK. Griffith and Harry P. Owings.

Carroll—D. A. C. Webster, W. P. Gorsuch, Daniel Ebaugh and Benjamin F. Selby.

Cecil—R. C. Mackell, Michael Moore and S. J. Caldwell.

Charles—F. M. Cox, John T. Davis and Adrian Posey.

Caroline—J. C. Horsey, and Thomas R. Green.

Dorchester—Zora H. Brinsfield, D. W. Newberry and S. Lynn Percy.

Frederick—Jacob Rohrback, D. E. Buckey, Manassas T. Grove, S. M. Birely and W. P. Morsell.

Garrett—George W. Wilson, and T. H. Bittinger.

Harford—Walter W. Preston, W. S. Bowman, Henry W. Archer and Noble L. Mitchell.

Kent—James H. Baker and John Brice.

Montgomery—Edward Wootten, O. H. P. Clark and Philip D. Laird.

Prince George's—Frederick Sasscer, Thomas H. Perrie and Francis M. Hall.

Queen Anne's—James Roe, John B. Thomas and John T. Norman.

Somerset—Robert F. Maddox, George T. Rowe and George W. Howith.

St. Mary's—Washington Wilkinson and D. E. Graves.

Talbot—Thomas K. Robson, William Collins and P. Addison Morgan.

Washington—John H. Harp, J. J. Koontz, W. H. A. Hamilton and Marine Lamar.

Wicomico—T. W. H. White, Walter C. Mann and Clayton C. Parker.

Worcester—George M. Upshur, Francis H. Purnell and Lemuel W. Olney.

George M. Upshur, of Worcester, was elected Speaker of the House, and George Peter, of Montgomery, became President of the Senate. At this session Walter R. Townsend, who had been a member in 1886, became reading clerk for the first time. Except during the two sessions in which the Republicans were in control he has held this place on either the House or Senate side ever since. Stevenson Archer was re-elected Treasurer. John Gill—later Congressman—and J. Q. A. Robson became Police Commissioners, Thomas C. Weeks was appointed chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Clinton P. Paine, Joseph B. Stafford and Robert Ober were made Supervisors of Elections for Baltimore city.

The two most stirring incidents of that session of the Legislature were the defeat of the Redistricting bill and the stealing of the \$1.25 gas bill. The first measure was the occasion of one of the most exciting scenes that ever occurred in the House of Delegates. The bill was really conceived by and introduced in the interests of J. F. C. Talbott, and its principal feature was the taking of Carroll county out of the Second Congressional district and the placing of it in the Sixth. It happened at that time that the Second district was represented in Congress by Dr. Frank T. Shaw, of Carroll county. Mr. Talbott desired to regain his seat, and the easiest way he could think of was to move Dr. Shaw and his entire county into another district. This would, he believed, leave him a clear field, and he would have no difficulty in landing the nomination in the fall.

The State leaders—Mr. Gorman and the others—agreed to push the bill, and did so, but it was fought most fiercely from the start. Congressman Barnes Compton was one of those who opposed it, and the struggle was bitter and prolonged. Gradually, however, the managers forced the bill out of the committee in the House and through to its third reading.

It came up on its third reading and final passage one day when both sides were ready for the fray. Walter R. Townsend was reading clerk and, of course, for the bill. He called the roll and found that 45 votes had been cast for and 45 against the measure. It required 46 to pass the bill, and Mr. Townsend promptly began to spar for time. He winked at one of the Baltimore county delegates, who came to the desk, and after a hurried whisper returned to his seat and demanded that the vote be verified. Slowly Townsend called the names, with an excited crowd around him. He found time to say to Fitzgerald, of the city delegation, who was for the bill: "We need one more vote. Go down and get old man Perrie to change. He promised to vote aye and he voted against." While Fitzgerald worked on Perrie, Townsend called the names, stringing the thing along as slowly as possible. Finally, when the last name was called and there was no longer any excuse, the opponents of the bill began to shout "Announce the vote," "Announce the vote."

Townsend still delayed, and a rush was made to the desk to compel him to hand up the rollcall. He started to do so when he saw Mr. Perrie, of Prince George's, rise in his seat. He snatched the rollcall back and whispered to the Speaker—George M. Upshur—"Recognize Perrie." Mr. Upshur recognized Mr. Perrie, and that gentleman changed his vote from no to aye.

Immediately there was wild excitement and a dash of the opponents of the bill to Perrie to make him change back. The House was thrown into great confusion. Mr. Townsend recorded the change and handed the rollcall to the Speaker, just as Mr. Cox, of Charles county, who had voted for the bill, rose and shouted:

"Mr. Speaker, I want to change my vote."

"Don't recognize him," said Mr. Townsend to the Speaker.  
"Announce the vote."

The next moment the Speaker did announce the vote—46 for and 44 against—while the House was in an uproar.

A number of opponents of the bill ran to the reading clerk's desk with the evident intention of assaulting Mr. Townsend, but his friends were equally quick, and although the excitement lasted for some minutes an open fight was averted and the House adjourned. The bill was later killed in the Senate, and Carroll county is still in the Second district. Mr. Talbott tried the same thing some years later more successfully, when he succeeded in taking Cecil out of the Second and placing it in the First district, thereby removing Austin L. Crothers as a possible candidate against him.

This Legislature was closely followed by the national campaign of 1888, when Cleveland had his second nomination and his first defeat. It was against Gorman's advice that he ran, and the management of the national campaign was placed in other hands. The Maryland delegation was for Cleveland in the convention, and the delegates were:

At Large—A. P. Gorman, German H. Hunt, L. Victor Baughman and John B. Brown.

First District—W. Sydney Wilson and Thomas Humphreys.  
Second—N. Charles Burke and James R. Whiteford.

Third—Albert Ritchie and Frank A. Furst.

Fourth—William T. Biedler and Robert Crain.

Fifth—Richard H. Edelin and Thomas H. Hunt.

Sixth—Buchanan Schley and Daniel Annan.

The Presidential electors chosen at the State convention were:

At Large—James Hodges and Henry Page.

First District—W. Scott Roberts.

Second—James G. Berret.

Third—Willoughby N. Smith.

Fourth—I. Gorham Moale.

Fifth—R. C. Combs.

Sixth—Hattersly W. Talbott.

John K. Cowen supported the Democratic ticket on the issue of tariff reform and made a number of speeches in favor of Cleveland and the Democratic Congressmen. It was at this election that Isidor Raynor was defeated by Judge Henry

Stockbridge. Judge Stockbridge, who was then anything but a prominent lawyer, was nominated by the Republicans without any real expectation either upon their part or his of winning. Everyone believed Mr. Rayner would have a walkover, but when the votes were counted it was found Stockbridge had been elected by a narrow margin.

He was, it is said, on the night of the election in the office of the Baltimore American where he was employed, going over the returns and helping keep tab on the general result. Someone came to him there and told him he had been elected over Rayner. "Oh, go away and don't bother me," he is said to have replied, believing that a joke was being made at his expense. It is said that the Glassblowers' Union in Baltimore really caused Mr. Rayner's defeat at this time. It had some sort of grievance against him because of some action he had taken in Congress, and it organized and campaigned against him. It had just about enough votes to defeat him. The Congressmen elected were:

First District—Charles H. Gibson.

Second—Herman Stump.

Third—Harry Welles Rusk.

Fourth—Henry Stockbridge.

Fifth—Barnes Compton.

Sixth—Louis E. McComas.

There were some unique features to the State and municipal campaign of 1889 that followed. It was in this year that Robert C. Davidson was nominated for Mayor. He had been selected by the Iroquois Club as its candidate for the City Council. Harry Welles Rusk and his brother-in-law, John Adams, of the firm of Carroll, Adams & Co., told Mr. Rasin about Davidson and what a strong man he was. Mr. Rasin asked to have him brought up to see him. He was brought and as a result Mr. Rasin settled on him as the organization candidate for the Mayoralty, again sidetracking Latrobe. He did not, however, permit Davidson to be brought out as his or the organization candidate. Instead there was organized the Business Men's Democratic Association, with William A. Fisher president, Daniel Miller treasurer and Willoughby N. Smith as secretary. This association brought Davidson out as its candidate, put up delegates

in the various wards, went into the primaries and elected them. Davidson was nominated in the city convention as the business men's candidate, just as Rasin planned he should be. Some of the members of the association were Frank A. Furst, Robert Ober, John E. Hurst, John Hubert, Clinton P. Paine, Mark O. Shriver, Frank H. Hambleton, W. T. Biedler, Lloyd L. Jackson, John C. Legg, W. J. H. Walters, Hiram Dudley, Andrew W. Woodall and Samuel Snowden. At the same time Davidson was nominated. Henry D. Harlan was named by the Democrats for Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench; James Bond was re-nominated for Clerk of the Superior Court, George McCaffrey was named for Sheriff and Augustus Bouldin for City Surveyor.

The independent Democrats, led by Cowen, and the Republicans inspired by Cowen, again got together and at the Eutaw House nominated a Cowen ticket:

For Mayor—Alexander Shaw, Republican.

Clerk of the Superior Court—Thomas E. McCready, independent.

Sheriff—Thomas McCosker, independent.

Chief Judge—Robert H. Smith, Republican.

Chief Surveyor—Gilbert H. Bryson, Republican.

Among the fusion nominees for the House of Delegates were these:

William L. Marbury, Roger W. Cull, George A. Dubreuil, George F. Gephart, David S. Briscoe and James McColgan.

W. Benton Crisp was a fusion candidate for State Senator. The Republican City Convention indorsed this ticket and the fight was made along fusion lines. It was about this time that Mr. S. Davies Warfield organized and became president of the Jefferson Democratic Association and assumed charge of the fusion fight as Chairman of the campaign committee.

The Democratic State Convention at Concordia Opera House on September 26 was presided over by ex-Mayor Hodges. It cheered Cleveland and renominated Baughman for Comptroller. On October 1 the Republicans nominated for State Comptroller George L. Wellington, who was placed in nomination in a most eloquent speech by Louis E. McComas. Daniel E. Conklin called the convention to order and Jacob J. Weaver presided.

Bernard Carter, William Shepard Bryan, John P. Poe, Robert M. McLane, Judge Fisher and James B. Guyton were some of the men active on the stump for the Democratic ticket in this fight. Marbury, Bruce, Cull, Cowen, Keyser and others led the fight for the other side.

Gorman overlooked all the others and directed his batteries against Cowen as the real man making the fight. He attacked Cowen in a vigorous speech in which he pointed out the railroad reasons of Cowen's activity. Cowen in a four column letter in *THE SUN* replied. Gorman replied to that and this produced another letter from Cowen. The controversy in the newspapers and on the stump was a heated one and culminated when Cowen, on October 26, introduced at a big meeting in the Concordia Opera House Bill Harig and Charley Goodman, who gave a remarkable recital of alleged frauds which they claimed to have perpetrated at the instance of the Ring, accusing Gorman and Rasin and other leaders of instigating them.

Immediately the Democrats brought out the fact that prior to this meeting, Harig and Goodman had spent two hours alone with Cowen in the Baltimore and Ohio Building, and accused Cowen of having manufactured the whole business and rehearsed these men in it. The charges on this incident were rung until the close of the campaign, which resulted in the election of Baughman and the State ticket by about 11,000 and Davidson by about 4,000 majority.

At the session of the Legislature of 1890 that followed Robert F. Brattan was President of the Senate and John Hubner Speaker of the House. The complete personnel was as follows:

#### SENATE.

Allegany—George A. Pearre.  
Anne Arundel—John Wirt Randall.  
Baltimore County—James J. Lindsay.  
Baltimore City—John B. Wentz, John P. Poe and Charles S. Adams.  
Calvert—W. C. Somervill.  
Caroline—John F. Dawson.

Carroll—Pinkney J. Bennett.  
 Cecil—John S. Wirt.  
 Charles—Adrian Posey.  
 Dorchester—George E. Austin.  
 Frederick—Milton G. Urner.  
 Garrett—William R. Getty.  
 Harford—Benjamin Silver, Jr.  
 Howard—William B. Peter.  
 Kent—W. D. Burchinal.  
 Montgomery—Edward Wootten.  
 Prince George's—Charles E. Coffin.  
 Queen Anne's—John B. Brown.  
 Somerset—Robert F. Brattan.  
 St. Mary's—Washington Wilkinson.  
 Talbot—Edward Lloyd.  
 Washington—Edward Stake.  
 Wicomico—E. Stanley Toadvin.  
 Worcester—John Walter Smith.

## HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Allegany—J. A. Cunningham, James A. Mullin, James M. Mair, James G. Williams  
 Anne Arundel—D. W. G. Williams, George W. Hyde, Jr., J. R. Brashears, J. F. Krems.  
 Baltimore City—First district, C. J. Philbin, E. D. Fitzgerald, M. A. McCormick, Theodore B. Fox, W. M. Fraser, John B. Keplinger; Second, George Colton, J. Harry Preston, Henry Bargar, Charles H. Carter, H. C. Cox, J. Henning Jones; Third, John Jamison, E. G. Rost, C. W. Brown, R. F. Beauchamp, J. E. Swindell, W. C. Harden.  
 Baltimore County—John Hubner, Frank Parlett, E. N. Rich, Dr. J. H. Drach, William Slade, L. B. McCabe.  
 Calvert—Tilghman Spanklin, Francis Gantt.  
 Caroline—George W. Raughley, E. E. Goslin.  
 Carroll—Frank T. Shaw, B. F. Selby, J. L. Still, M. E. Walsh.  
 Cecil—Thomas Pearce, Hiester Hess, W. H. Sincoe.  
 Charles—Dr. G. D. Mudd, P. A. L. Contee, W. DeC. Mitchell.

Dorchester—W. T. Stapleforte, W. S. Craft, E. T. Mace.

Frederick—F. G. Thomas, Ezra Minnick, F. C. Norwood, W. P. Morsell, J. W. Kaufman.

Garrett—G. W. Merrill, H. M. Kemp.

Harford—W. W. Preston, W. B. Hopkins, G. W. Richardson, Noble L. Mitchell.

Howard—E. Green Selby, W. E. Linn.

Kent—F. H. Taylor, Samuel Vannort.

Montgomery—P. D. Laird, William Kilgour, John A. Clements.

Prince George's—W. A. Meloy, R. V. Hall, R. C. E. Parker.

Queen Anne's—W. W. Busteed, William E. Temple, W. P. Thompson.

Somerset—A. L. Dryden, B. K. Green, W. E. Ford.

St. Mary's—J. F. Cecil, J. H. Ching.

Talbot—J. M. Lowe, C. R. Leonard, William Collins.

Washington—Martin L. Keedy, John H. Harp, Moses Whitson, Lewis C. Remsburg.

Wicomico—Dr. G. W. Truitt, J. K. Covington, T. N. Hearn.

Worcester—E. W. McMaster, S. W. Lane, R. J. Showell.

It was at this session that United States Senator E. K. Wilson was re-elected to the Senate. Governor Jackson was at first an avowed candidate, and for several weeks before the Legislature met his friends were hustling for him and he believed he stood a show. On January 7, however, he went to Baltimore, the Legislature then being in session, and there had a talk with both Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin. The next day he withdrew his name as a candidate, and on January 10 the caucus nominated Wilson by acclamation. It was John Walter Smith who nominated him in caucus and it was Smith who led the fight for Wilson's re-election. Smith was then holding his first public office, having been elected after the hottest primary fight that ever occurred in Worcester county, the result of which was to establish him as the undisputed county leader over George Covington. From then on his power in politics grew and has been growing ever since.

It was at this session of the Legislature that THE SUN made its great gas fight, which resulted in the killing of the bill which

would have given the Consolidated Gas Company the right for 25 years to sell gas at \$1.25. The overwhelming sensation of the session, however, was the defalcation of Stevenson Archer, then Treasurer, the shock of which lasted many months. It was in the Jackson administration that J. F. C. Talbott became Insurance Commissioner and many other stalwarts came into their own. The Archer business effectively eliminated Colonel Baughman as a Gubernatorial possibility.

## CHAPTER XVII.

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### How Frank Brown Became Governor and "Charlie" Gibson Went to the Senate.

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In many respects the campaign and the administration of Frank Brown as Governor differed from that of any other man who has held the office. Not only was he unquestionably the most popular Gubernatorial candidate since Oden Bowie, but he made an excellent Governor. Moreover, he was the first man for a good many years who nominated himself and did not owe the office directly to the bosses.

It was in 1885 in the Brown-Hodges campaign that he got his start. The leaders were frightened in that fight and no stone was left unturned to win. Frank Brown was then postmaster and he became treasurer of the executive committee that managed the campaign in the city. He was popular, strong, energetic and resourceful. It was he who raised the money that made it possible to win the fight, and to him generally was given a large part of the credit for the victory. In this year he organized the first Business Men's Organization, making J. McKenney White president and bringing to the support of Hodges an element that counted for much. When the Legislature of 1886 met he was offered by the leaders the office of State Treasurer, but declined because of his intention of making a fight for the Governorship. The next year he made his first effort to get the nomination and went into the convention with a considerable following, not enough to nominate, but sufficient to make of him a factor. After Jackson had been named Brown urged Baughman not to accept the Comptrollership nomination, pointing out to him his reasons for considering it a blunder, and announcing to the leaders then and there that he was a candidate four years hence. In the room of Senator Gorman at Barnum's Hotel he told them:

"I just want to tell you I'm a candidate. The rest of these fellows will have to keep off the grass. I'll be the next Governor of Maryland. Four years from now will be my time."

That was the spirit with which he started his fight and he carried it through to the end. The organization was under obligations to Hodges and started out with the intention of nominating him. Brown never halted for a moment after he made his announcement. He consulted no leaders and waited for no developments, but went ahead with his fight in his own way. He went into county after county and organized it for himself, his proposition to the county politicians being that all he wanted was the delegation to the State Convention and that they could name everything else on the ticket and do as they pleased in reference to the United States Senatorship. With a sentiment already existing for him in every county, with the "Farmer Brown" slogan ringing all over the State, many of the county leaders "fell for" this proposition.

George Colton, the suave, smooth man of long experience, was one of his earliest agents, who went from county to county in his interest. Joel Haddaway Rowlensen was another, and both were useful in fixing up deals and getting the fag end of the opposition in the counties in line, distracting attention from Brown, who himself framed up the real combinations that gave him strength. Long before the convention Brown gave a dinner at Hazazer's Hall, to which he invited the Republican as well as Democratic editors of the State, and there made a public announcement of his candidacy. To the amazement of some of the leaders then against him several of the Republican editors got up at the dinner and declared for him. With the county press, the leaders in some of the counties and the people generally with him, Gorman and Rasin soon saw that even if it were possible for them to beat Brown it would mean the straining of the machine almost to the breaking point. This conclusion was forced on them after the primaries and conventions in Cecil and Talbot counties. In the primaries the organization managers believed they had carried both these counties against Brown, but when the county conventions were held Brown got the delegates in each.

This convinced Gorman and Rasin that Brown simply could not be beaten. From that time on they dropped the idea of nominating Hodges and practically made no fight against Brown. Two weeks before the convention Brown got word that his son, who was then in Europe with his mother, was seriously ill, and he was cabled by the physician to come at once. He dropped everything and took the first boat for the other side. Before leaving, however, he went over to Washington and saw Mr. Gorman. He told him what had happened and then said that he would have to leave things up in the air, but he had a majority of the delegates—more than 70—and that he did not think it would be wise for anybody to try to sidetrack him in his absence. Mr. Gorman said: "It looks to me as if you would be nominated by acclamation. Have you seen Rasin?" Brown came back to Baltimore and saw Mr. Rasin, who told him that the sentiment in the city was so strong for him that he could not keep him out of the nomination if he wanted to, and that he could go ahead without any apprehension.

Brown went and Robert Crain, who was his closest personal friend, took charge of his headquarters and managed his fight in his absence. On the eve of the convention Brown wired: "Will leave for Paris today. Frank much better. Will sail with family for America middle of August." The convention met on July 31 and Brown was nominated by acclamation. This cablegram was sent him by his secretary, David Cowan: "Nomination; acclamation; congratulation." The ticket, as named, was:

For Governor—Frank Brown.

For Comptroller—Marion de Kalb Smith.

For Attorney-General—John Prentiss Poe.

For Clerk of the Court of Appeals—J. Frank Ford.

Rasin directed the proceedings of the convention from a box. Ex-Gov. Henry Lloyd presided and Brown was placed in nomination by Dr. Frank T. Shaw, of Carroll county, seconding speeches being made by Robert Crain and Edwin Warfield. Gorman did not attend the convention, but came to Baltimore two days ahead and at the Rennert went over the situation and agreed to the program. Brown had it without a struggle and he followed this up by doing what no other Gubernatorial can-

dicate has ever been able to do and that was to practically select his Republican opponent.

The situation in the Republican camp was about this: For the first time in a good many years, the State Republicans were without the aid, advice and counsel of John K. Cowen. As has been told, it was at this time that Cowen, for railroad reasons, withdrew his opposition to Gorman's return to the Senate and ceased fighting the Democratic State ticket. The Republicans, having no one to fuse with, tried in every way to get the best man in their own party to accept the Governorship. Lloyd Lowndes could have had it, but declined to run. Every effort was then made to get Harry C. Clabaugh to accept the nomination and he had agreed to do so, provided he was named by acclamation. Brown and Brown's friends got control of enough Republican votes in the Convention to make a nomination for Clabaugh or anyone else by acclamation impossible, and realizing this, Clabaugh did not become a candidate. Finally the Republicans put to the front Col. William J. Vannort, of Kent county. Vannort had no particular strength and Brown's friends promptly agreed to him. Here was the ticket nominated:

For Governor—William J. Vannort.

For Comptroller—John McDonald.

For Attorney-General—George M. Sharp.

For Clerk of the Court of Appeals—Enoch Abell.

It was easy.

Although Cowen and the Baltimore and Ohio had withdrawn opposition to Gorman and made no fight against Brown, the "gentlemen's agreement" does not seem to have included Mr. Rasin and a fusion ticket manned by Cowen men was put up in the city against General Latrobe, who had again been named by Rasin for Mayor. Solomon Davies Warfield was the independent candidate for Mayor, and with him on the ticket as an independent candidate for State's Attorney was William L. Marbury. Both were indorsed by the Republicans. The way in which they were nominated was like this: Mr. Warfield always believed that his father had been elected Mayor in 1875, and had been counted out. He was ambitious to be elected, not only on his own account, but as a sort of vindication of his father. He

had at this time become the close friend of both Cowen and Wallis. He was prominent in the Mayoralty fight of two years before, and this time came to the front as an aspirant for Mayoralty honors. There had come into existence two organizations that were opposed to Mr. Rasin, one of which was called the Citizens' Democratic Alliance, officered as follows:

President—William Cabell Bruce.

Vice-President—J. Southgate Lemmon.

Second Vice-President—John J. Purcell.

Secretary—Robert W. Smith.

Executive Committee—Charles Marshall, James C. McColgan, Frederick Leist, Oliver Hoblitzell and William L. Marbury.

Connected with the Tax Payers' Association, the anti-Rasin organization, were Levi J. Condon, Michael E. Mullin, Alfred S. Niles, Theodore Mottu, Henry D. Loney, John S. J. Healy, George W. Gail, John R. Kelso, William Ferguson, W. Burns Trundle, John G. Johnson and others. The aim of both organizations was to name a non-partisan ticket that would aid in the defeat of the Rasin ticket.

Finally this ticket was named by the Citizens' Alliance:

For Mayor—Solomon Davies Warfield.

For State's Attorney—William L. Marbury.

Clerk of Criminal Court—John S. Bullock.

Register of Wills—Robert T. Banks.

Mr. Bruce was the chairman of the convention. Later the Tax Payers' Union indorsed these nominations, as did the Republican City Convention, which, however, supplemented the ticket by the nomination of the following:

Sheriff—Robert S. Mooney.

Clerk of Circuit Court—Henry J. Broening.

Clerk of Criminal Court—William M. Byrne.

Register of Wills—E. J. Dowell.

Judges of Orphans' Court—W. H. Daiger, R. P. Gorman and P. L. Keyser.

Collector William F. Stone was a member of this convention, and, with Stephen R. Mason, Frank S. Stowbridge, Charles F. Riehl, Dr. William A. Montell, John H. Murphy, N. C. M.

Groome, Washington G. Tuck and Charles W. Adams, formed the campaign committee in charge of the fight.

The Democratic City Convention was presided over by Gen. Andrew C. Trippe, and Martin Lehmayer acted as secretary. Here was the ticket named:

Mayor—Ferdinand C. Latrobe.

Clerk of Court of Common Pleas—John T. Gray.

Clerk of Criminal Court—Hiram Dudley.

Clerk of Circuit Court—Alvin Robertson.

Register of Wills—Thomas W. Morse.

Sheriff—Isaac S. Sanner.

State's Attorney—Charles G. Kerr.

Judges of Orphans' Court—George W. Lindsay, Daniel Gans and William F. Edwards.

The fight was warm, but one-sided, even in the city, while in the State it was a perfect walkover. Gorman was a candidate for re-election to the Senate, and with Brown's popularity and his energetic campaign, the result was a foregone conclusion from the start. Thomas F. McNulty campaigned all over the State with Brown, singing the "Farmer Brown" songs and arousing enthusiasm. Brown as a campaigner in those days had few equals and the people went wild over him. He was elected by about 33,000 majority, being thousands more than any Governor except Bowie received, and more than Bowie when the negro vote is deducted. Latrobe carried the city by more than 8,000, and both the City Council and the Legislature were overwhelmingly Democratic.

The complete personnel of the Legislature of 1892 was:

#### SENATE.

Allegany—George A. Pearre.

Anne Arundel—Robert Moss.

Baltimore City—Charles H. Evans, James P. Gorter and Thomas G. Hayes.

Baltimore County—John Hubner.

Calvert—Joseph F. Talbott.

Carroll—Pinkney J. Bennett.

Caroline—John F. Dawson.  
Cecil—John S. Wirt.  
Charles—Adrian Posey.  
Dorchester—George E. Austin.  
Frederick—Jacob F. Newman.  
Garrett—W. R. Getty.  
Harford—Thomas H. Robinson.  
Howard—John G. Rogers.  
Kent—William T. Hepbron.  
Montgomery—Edward Wootten.  
Prince George's—Charles E. Coffin.  
St. Mary's—Washington Wilkinson.  
Talbot—Edward Lloyd.  
Queen Anne's—John B. Brown.  
Somerset—Levin L. Waters.  
Washington—David Seibert.  
Wicomico—E. Stanley Toadvin.  
Worcester—John Walter Smith.

## HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Allegany—James A. Buckey, Daniel Young, Allen Barber, J. J. Stottlemyer, George Hoskins.

Anne Arundel—James R. Brashears, William T. Hutchins, Charles Sappington, Caleb E. Donaldson.

Baltimore City—First district, W. H. Thompson, Edward D. Fitzgerald, Harry A. Fuld, Michael E. Brennan, Theodore E. Fox, George Walz; Second, William F. O'Conor, Charles W. Field, Howard Gill, Charles H. Carter, Reginald Bowie, John M. Gallagher; Third, Martin C. Frincke, Martin R. Joyce, Henry Sanders, Robert H. Corthwaite, Conway W. Sams, William Sanders Carr.

Baltimore County—Joseph C. Monmonier, James Hamilton, Jr., J. Smith Orrick, Craven M. Cole, William Elliott, Charles Schlaffer.

Calvert—James G. Ireland, Emory F. Lane.

Caroline—Purnell Johnson, W. H. Dean.

Carroll—James G. Berret, Robert Sellman, Evan Haines, Edward W. Leeds.

Cecil—William T. Beeks, C. Frank Kirk, Joseph T. Grove.

Charles—Francis J. Maddox, Lewis C. Carrico.

Dorchester—Dr. Benjamin L. Smith, Alonzo L. Miles, Joseph B. Meredith.

Frederick—James Roger McSherry, Joseph W. Gaver, Manassas Grover, R. Frank Sappington, James S. Biggs.

Garrett—George L. Michael, Thomas L. Bittinger.

Harford—Murray Vandiver, Samuel S. Bevard, Dr. Thomas E. Hayward, John O. Stearns.

Howard—John S. Tracey, Louis P. Haslup.

Kent—J. Fletcher Wilson, T. Romie Strong.

Montgomery—Philip D. Laird, Howard Griffith, W. M. Canby.

Prince George's—William I. Hill, William D. Bowie, William Fletcher Perrie.

Queen Anne's—John F. Godwin, Olin Bryan, Samuel A. Wallen.

Somerset—Benjamin K. Green, James D. Anderson, Noah C. Sterling.

St. Mary's—Robert C. Coombs, George R. Garner.

Talbot—William Collins, C. R. Leonard, James M. Wooters.

Washington—Robert J. Shaferm, Edward Garrett, Charles H. Smith, John P. Fockler.

Wicomico—James E. Ellegood, William S. Moore, William L. Laws.

Worcester—Lloyd Wilkinson, Jerome T. Hayman, Dr. Thomas Y. Franklin.

It was just after the election of Brown and Latrobe in 1891 that United States Senator E. K. Wilson, who had been re-elected for a term of six years, in 1890, died. This left a vacancy which Governor Jackson was called upon to fill. Mr. Jackson was himself practically an avowed candidate for the Senate and had been almost from the time he was elected Governor. In 1890 he started to make a fight against Wilson and a combination had been entered into between Jackson, Baughman and Frank T. Shaw, by which each was to take a step up—Jackson to the Senatorship, Baughman was to step from Comptroller

to Governor and Shaw from Tax Commissioner to Comptroller. Mr. Gorman wanted Senator Wilson re-elected and at his request or suggestion Frank Brown went down to Annapolis to break up the combination. Brown went down with the support of the organization for the Governorship. The leaders had no intention of making him Governor then, but they knew his strength, and that, with him in the field as a candidate, the combination would not last. Brown was not fooled at all, and told both Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin so. "Going down there now," he said, "won't make me Governor, but it will mean that if you people let the Legislature know I am good enough for the place now, when I go after it next year, you will have to get behind me."

He went down, and in a little while Baughman saw that even if Jackson landed the Senatorship he would not land the Governorship, and the combination broke. Wilson was re-elected and Jackson postponed his fight. When Wilson died Jackson's problem was to appoint to the Senate a man who would be content to serve for a few months only, until the Legislature met, and would not be a candidate against him. At one time he came very nearly appointing Robert F. Brattan, who had been defeated for the Comptrollership nomination and was his friend. It is also said that he came so close to appointing Gen. Joseph B. Seth, who was probably closer to him than any one, that Seth practically had the commission. Various names were urged upon him, but the Governor could not make up his mind.

This is how it was settled. One day after things had been drifting for some time, Mr. Gorman sent for Harry Welles Rusk to come to his home in Washington. Charles H. Gibson, of Talbot county, after having served several terms in Congress, had been defeated for the nomination in 1890 and was making a fight for clerk of the House of Representatives with headquarters at a downtown Washington hotel and a retinue of hangers-on. Gorman was personally fond of Gibson. When Rusk arrived at his house, he said: "Rusk, Gibson is over here, head over heels in debt. He has not a dollar in the world and I don't see any way of putting him on his feet except to give him this appointment. Governor Jackson is coming over here tomorrow

morning at 11 o'clock. Drop around here about that time and we will see what can be done."

The next morning a little after 11 o'clock Mr. Rusk went to the Gorman home and was taken upstairs to the library. There he found Governor Jackson and Senator Gorman alone. "Come in," said Mr. Gorman. "We were just talking over this Senatorship matter. Sit down. What do you hear about it?"

"Well, Senator," said Mr. Rusk, "of course we are all for Governor Jackson, but from the general feeling at Annapolis, it looks to me as if the best solution of the whole business would be to have the Governor appoint 'Charlie' Gibson. He needs the salary and he would, of course, not be a candidate against Governor Jackson when the Legislature meets."

"Well," said Mr. Gorman, "there seems to be something in that. Does Gibson know anything about this?"

"Not a word," said Rusk. "He does not know he has any chance and has not been after the place."

"Well, Governor," said Mr. Gorman, "It looks to me as if that was about the best thing you could do. What do you think about it?"

Rusk says that Mr. Jackson thought for a while and then looked up and said: "I'll appoint him."

Mr. Gorman said: "Rusk, do you know where Gibson is?"

"Yes, sir; I think I can find him."

"Well, go get him to come up here and see Governor Jackson and this whole matter can be settled." Rusk took a cab to Gibson's Hotel and told him he was going to be appointed Senator. Gibson, he said, nearly dropped dead with surprise. He closed up his headquarters, told his followers he was out of the clerkship fight, bought one last round of drinks, and went back to see Governor Jackson. A day or so afterward his appointment was announced.

When the Legislature met, Col. Edward Lloyd was elected President of the Senate and Murray Vandiver became Speaker of the House. Immediately the Senatorial fight started. John Walter Smith was an avowed candidate and made a game fight that soon caused him to be recognized as a factor in the game. Jackson was then ex-Governor and Brown had become Gov-

ernor. James Alfred Pearce, of Kent county, was another strong candidate, Francis E. Waters, Sydney Wilson, W. Lee Carey and other of Smith's friends fought hard for him and for some days the balloting showed him as one of the leading candidates. Before the fight began, Gorman was re-elected without a dissenting Democratic vote. Rasin was supposed to be for Governor Jackson in the fight, but the belief is that at heart he was for James Alfred Pearce. The first ballot taken was as follows:

John S. Wirt, 15; John Walter Smith, 16; Elihu E. Jackson, 17; James Alfred Pearce, 11; John B. Brown, 11; Robert M. McLane, 16; Charles H. Gibson, 7; William J. Vannort, 7; George M. Russum, 2; Levin L. Waters, 1; Thomas G. Hayes, 1; Barnes Compton, 1; James Hodges, 1; William A. Fisher, 1; Bernard Carter, 1.

For several more days the balloting stood about this way, with the members of the Legislature who did not vote for Smith, Jackson, Pearce and Wirt voting for almost any one they could think of as a compliment, simply waiting for the word to come. The rival candidates had headquarters in Annapolis and the battle was a fierce one. After some days of this futile and ineffectual voting Gorman again sent for Rusk and said: "It is about time to settle this business. It will be a mistake to name any of these fellows but Gibson now. Go back and tell Freeman that I think we had better settle the whole business and elect Gibson tomorrow."

Gorman used Rusk as his messenger to Rasin, but Colonel Baughman was the man who brought the word to the other leaders. Up to 6 o'clock of that day there had been no change in the situation. When Baughman arrived at night and gave Gorman's message the whole business collapsed. Every man in the fight recognized the fight was over and that there was no chance. They bowed to the inevitable and made no further effort.

Rusk brought the message to Rasin and says that that gentleman was highly indignant. "That is the way with Gorman," he said. "He is always putting these unpleasant things on me. Here is my relative, James Alfred Pearce, in this fight and I have got to bear the brunt of the whole business."

It was Mr. Rasin who broke the news to Governor Jackson and gave him a chance to withdraw and save his face. In the morning Mr. Rasin sent for Senator Robert Moss, of Anne Arundel, and a number of the others and in the old Speaker's room, said: "Well, Gorman and myself have both tried to stop this thing, but the sentiment for Gibson is too strong and we have got to take our hands off and let him get this place."

Some of them laughed in his face, but they went out and voted for Gibson just the same. Colonel Edward Lloyd, who was from Gibson's county and who hated him cordially, said as he walked across from the Senate to the House to vote: "This is the bitterest pill I have ever had to swallow. Thomas G. Hayes was the one Senator who refused to leave Jackson after the word had gone forth. "I promised Jackson I would vote for him and I am going to do it," and when his name was called he fairly shouted out "the Hon. Elihu E. Jackson." The final ballot was as follows:

Charles H. Gibson, 86; John B. Brown, 3; James Alfred Pearce, 5; John Walter Smith, 4; Elihu E. Jackson, 5; William J. Vannort, 8; James A. Gary, 1; L. Allison Wilmer, 1.

The votes cast for Jackson were those from his own county and that of Mr. Hayes. Those cast for Smith were those from his own county and one from Queen Anne's.

## CHAPTER XVIII

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### The Brown Administration and Its Features. Legislature of 1894.

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After the Legislature of 1892 things moved with a swing in the Brown administration and events followed each other rapidly. Brown gave himself up wholly to the business of being Governor, and he displayed a business sense and acumen in the administration of State affairs that greatly added to his strength. Some of the things he did, and the situation with which he dealt in characteristic Brown fashion, are worth recalling.

In the first six months of his administration he appointed no less than seven judges—Ritchie, Wickes, Roberts, Revell, Lloyd, Boyd and Page—and it was mainly the excellence of these selections that laid the foundation of the present judiciary of the State. Aside from its legislative and political end, the most striking incidents of the Brown administration were the arrest by the Governor of Coxey's Army, and the breaking of the coal mine strike at Frostburg.

The Coxey's Army matter was a smoothly managed piece of business. The "army," or the bulk of it, had camped on Maryland soil near Hyattsville, and after some days had become a great nuisance. The people were demanding action, but no one knew exactly what to do. No crime had been committed, the "army" was not violating the law, and there seemed nothing to do but let them alone. Brown formed a plan, however, which he kept to himself. He sent detectives to Hyattsville, and after some days secured evidence that members of the "army" were begging. He immediately got out a blanket warrant and, enlisting a score or more of detectives, arrested the whole "army" upon the charge of vagrancy, clapping them all in the House of Correction. As nearly all of those arrested had more or less money

in their clothes, they raised a tremendous howl, but it availed them nothing. Brown, after conferring with Jesse Moore, the superintendent of the House of Correction, had the army placed at work building a road, which is known today as Coxey avenue. General Coxey, who was in Washington at the time of the arrest, instituted legal proceedings for the release of his "army," and Brown saw that he could not hold them. He ascertained from each man his home, and at night shipped the whole lot out and away from Maryland at the State's expense. There were two who refused to go, and were determined to stay and make Brown pay the penalty of arresting them. Brown reasoned with them, and finally induced them to remove the prison garb and put on their own clothing. Then he had returned to them their money and other valuables, after which they were conducted outside of the door of the institution, and told to go to the devil. They howled to get in again, but eventually went away, and the incident was closed.

At the time of the coal strike Governor Brown, with but five hours' notice, loaded the Fourth and Fifth Regiments on trains and shipped them to Frostburg. Brown himself visited the coal fields, held personal conferences with the strikers and aided materially in quieting the trouble and ending the strike.

Brown, more than any other Governor, interested himself in and visited the various State institutions. It was he who reorganized the Maryland Agricultural College, placing it on a basis from which it has developed into one of the strongest colleges in the country. He reorganized and rehabilitated the tobacco warehouse system, placing it on a self-sustaining basis, and it was through his efforts that the Springfield Hospital for the Insane has attained to its present position.

He had hardly gotten settled down to the routine of his office, however, after the adjournment of his first Legislature before the State was plunged into the heat of the third Cleveland campaign. This was the year in which Gorman came closer to landing the Presidential nomination than he ever did. Fresh from his fight against the Force bill, which had endeared him to the heart of the South and smothered much of the opposition in his own State, he loomed up as one of the biggest figures in the country,

and was the man around whom the anti-Cleveland forces centered. David B. Hill, of New York, was violently opposed to the nomination of Cleveland, and the entire Tammany delegation was against him and with Hill. Gorman and Hill understood each other and worked in harmony, their desire being to prevent the nomination of Cleveland and name either Gorman or a Western man. Alabama and one or two of the Southern States led off by instructing their delegates for Gorman.

Gorman's position was that he was not a candidate, and no one was ever authorized to speak for him as a candidate. At the same time he believed Cleveland's nomination, under the circumstances, would be inadvisable. In Maryland the sentiment of the people was overwhelmingly for Cleveland, and Mr. Rasin was unswervingly for him. It was in this campaign that Mr. Rasin made the first and the only speech of his life. It was made at the old Calumet Club, of which he was the leading spirit. Prior to the meeting of the State convention this club indorsed Cleveland and passed resolutions urging his nomination. It was on these resolutions that Rasin spoke. He read his speech, which was, it is said, a very good one, though short. In spite of the Cleveland sentiment the leaders determined upon an uninstructed delegation to Chicago, and on June 8 these delegates were chosen:

At Large—A. P. Gorman, Frank Brown, Charles J. M. Gwinn, Barnes Compton, L. Victor Baughman, I. Freeman Rasin, John S. Wirt and George M. Upshur.

First District—Richard D. Hynson and Levin L. Waters.

Second—Murray Vandiver and Frank T. Shaw.

Third—Frank A. Furst and James Bond.

Fourth—John Gill and Lloyd L. Jackson.

Fifth—Thomas H. Hunt and F. M. Cox.

Sixth—Buchanan Schley and Asa Willison.

The Presidential Electors nominated were:

At Large—Pere L. Wickes and John Walter Smith.

First District—W. D. Massey.

Second—Frederick W. Baker.

Third—John Hannibal.

Fourth—C. Ridgely Goodwin.

Fifth—James Revell.

Sixth—William Viers Bouic.

In the State convention Dorchester, Queen Anne's, Wicomico, Frederick and Washington counties had sent Cleveland delegations, and they wanted instructions. Dr. Lloyd T. McGill, of Frederick, offered the Cleveland resolutions and a fervent speech was made on them by Col. Buchanan Schley, but they were turned down by Gorman, Rasin acquiescing. Because of the general desire to go to the convention, the number of delegates at large had been doubled and each given half a vote. Ex-Gov. E. E. Jackson was one of those who was anxious to go, but refused to divide his vote and went back to Wicomico pretty sore and disgruntled, blaming John Walter Smith for what he thought was a slight put upon him. John Walter Smith was unable to go as a delegate, for business reasons, and named Mr. Upshur in his place. The Maryland delegation to this convention was larger than any the State has ever sent out. The Calumet Club alone sent out 500 men in uniforms, with Mr. Rasin as chief marshal and the following assistants: John J. Mahon, Harry Welles Rusk, Thomas W. Marshall, John Q. A. Robson, E. J. Chaisty, Timothy Maloney, John Quinn, George O. Cole, John W. Torsch, John B. Keplinger, George W. Trumbo, Herman W. Day, Myer J. Block, John H. Wills, Peter J. Campbell, Thomas F. McNulty, J. H. Wright, Edward Fitzgerald, Thomas H. Hamilton, Eldridge Packham, Richard H. Johns, Edward O'Mahoney, John F. Rasin, George J. Grundell and Patrick J. Campbell. The Iroquois Club also sent a big delegation, and there were besides many individual Marylanders who made the trip, such as Col. Spencer C. Jones, who was then State Treasurer; Marion De Kalb Smith, John C. Legg, Charles Goldsborough, William C. Worthington and others.

Gorman with a few personal friends went out a week ahead in a private car, and upon his arrival in Chicago was made the center of the anti-Cleveland forces. The game planned by the Hill-Gorman combination was to prevent Cleveland from getting the necessary two-thirds majority on the first ballot, and for a while it looked as if they would be successful. Failure on the first ballot for Cleveland, it was conceded, would put him out of the running, and the Hill-Gorman forces would name the man. At the time it looked as if Gorman, with his strength and stand-

ing in the South, his friends in New York and in the West, was the one man upon whom the anti-Cleveland element could unite.

Rasin went out with the Calumet Club the Saturday before the convention. The delegation reached Chicago late at night, and with Rasin at the head marched up the street to the Maryland headquarters. Eugene Higgins, who had come out ahead of the rest, met Rasin at the station and marched up with him. All the way along he poured into Rasin's ear the progress being made in the Gorman movement, telling of votes picked up here and votes picked up there. Rasin merely grunted and made no answer. Immediately upon reaching the Palmer House he got into communication with William C. Whitney, who managed the Cleveland fight, and declared himself. From that time on he was taken into the Cleveland conferences, and the Gorman-Hill combination rapidly waned until the nomination of Mr. Cleveland was conceded even by the opposition. Mr. Gorman was the first to make this concession, and Mr. Whitney followed with a statement in which he said he and Mr. Gorman fully understood each other, and that the latter had acted throughout unselfishly and for what he considered the best interests of the party. Mr. Whitney further stated that Mr. Gorman had told him some months before the convention that he believed Cleveland could not carry New York, and for that reason thought it unwise to nominate him. Those who were in the Maryland delegation at the convention generally gave Mr. Rasin credit for breaking the force of the Gorman-Hill movement. It would probably have failed had his attitude been otherwise, but it certainly did not help it any when the stand he took made it certain that at least part of the Maryland delegation would vote for Cleveland on the first ballot, whether Gorman was a candidate or not.

The Maryland delegation eventually cast its vote—six for Cleveland and nine and one-half for Gorman. Gorman did not vote at all, and received on the first ballot, by which Cleveland was nominated, 36 votes. The Marylanders voted as follows: For Cleveland—Rasin, Brown, Baughman, Wirt (with half a vote each), Bond, Schley, Gill and Jackson (with one vote each).

For Gorman—Compton, Upshur, Gwinn (half a vote each),

Waters, Hynson, Shaw, Vandiver, Furst, Hunt, Cox and Willison (one vote each).

When the vote was cast John K. Cowen who was the wildest Cleveland man in the convention, shouted from his seat on the stage: "Treason, treason; there is treachery in the Maryland delegation!" His voice did not reach the delegation, but it was heard by hundreds near him and created a sensation. When the Cleveland demonstration began Cowen seized a broom and wildly swung it about his head as he shouted. He returned to Maryland and ardently supported Cleveland in the campaign that followed, and in which Maryland went overwhelmingly for the candidate, electing at the same time a solid Democratic delegation to Congress, as follows:

First District—Short term, John B. Brown; long term, Robert F. Brattan.

Second—J. F. C. Talbott.

Third—Harry Welles Rusk.

Fourth—Isidor Rayner.

Fifth—Barnes Compton.

Sixth—William M. McKaig.

It was this year that Talbott succeeded in returning to Congress after an absence of eight years. McKaig two years before had defeated Louis E. McComas in the Sixth district, and was re-elected by an increased majority. He has the distinction of being the last Democrat this district has sent to Congress. It was in this campaign that Isaac Lobe Straus, the present Attorney-General of Maryland, made his entrance into politics. He took the stump for Cleveland and spoke in nearly every county in the State, in the one campaign succeeding in making himself known to the party people throughout Maryland, and rendering effective party service. Following Cleveland's election and inauguration, interest, of course, centered in the Federal appointments, and there was a memorable struggle over them. Cleveland, although still friendly with Gorman, was not disposed this time to give the machine the recognition he gave during his first term as President. He desired to recognize the independent element here. He had become a friend of Cowen, and he was impressed with some of the things Cowen and other independents had said to

him. He appreciated what Rasin had done at Chicago for him, and he made no appointments in the city without consulting Mr. Rasin's wishes. Here were the plums as finally distributed:

Collector of the Port—Frank T. Shaw.

Naval Officer—Barnes Compton.

District Attorney—William L. Marbury.

Postmaster—S. Davies Warfield.

Surveyor—Buchanan Schley.

Internal Revenue Collector—Murray Vandiver.

United States Marshal—Charles H. Evans.

Warfield and Marbury were really Cowen appointments, made upon his recommendation. Mr. Rasin did not oppose the appointment of Warfield for the postmastership. In fact, it is said he was somewhat inclined to look with favor upon it, notwithstanding Mr. Warfield's hostility to him in the past.

Gorman and Warfield, after the appointment, had a meeting, and eventually Warfield's appointment was confirmed in the Senate. Mr. Marbury's appointment was never confirmed, Senator Gorman refusing always to withdraw his objections to him, but he served his entire term notwithstanding. Mr. Rasin himself let it be known that he would not be a candidate for any Federal office, preferring to hold on to the Insurance Commissionership, which he had landed soon after Brown became Governor, succeeding J. F. C. Talbott, who had held the place under the Jackson administration. Mr. Rasin could have been the Consul-General to Berlin, but he preferred to stay at home. His declination of this place deprived the German nation of a great opportunity for political education.

In the 1893 campaign Mr. Rasin played the game in a characteristic fashion. The independent element in the city had been fighting him with increasing bitterness for years. The "gentlemen's agreement" that had resulted in the withdrawal by Cowen of his opposition to Gorman and the State machine did not include him. He was getting tired of the continual battering and determined to end it. Accordingly he went directly into the ranks of the reformers, and taking therefrom some of the most prominent and violent, placed them on his ticket as candidates. He took William Cabell Bruce and nominated him for the State Sen-

ate. He took Archibald H. Taylor, Thomas S. Baer and John Hemsley Johnson, and placed them before the people as organization candidates for the House of Delegates. Then he added more respectability to the ticket by nominating the very highest grade of organization men like Charles H. Carter, Charles W. Field and James H. Preston, so that when the entire ticket was put in the field it was more attractive and stronger than any the people had had a chance to vote upon for years. Thomas G. Hayes and Charles H. Evans were hold-over members of the Senate from Baltimore city, and with Bruce as the new Senator the charge of Rasinism in the campaign fell flat.

Mr. Rasin, however, did not carry his inclination to placate the reformers to the extent of turning the whole business over to them, and he placed a modicum of "Muldoons" on the city ticket, Latrobe being renominated for Mayor, Timothy Maloney for Sheriff, Harry A. Shultz for Clerk of the City Court and Augustus Bouldin for Surveyor. He distracted attention from this, however, by naming Albert Ritchie and Pere L. Wickes as candidates for judges of the Supreme Bench. Altogether, the city ticket, both State and municipal, was about the strongest the people of Baltimore have ever had presented to them, and it fairly took the wind out of the sails of the anti-Rasin element in the city.

Rasin's plan succeeded admirably for that one campaign. Bruce and his candidacy swung the independents largely into line, and at the first big mass-meeting William Pinkney Whyte presided and speeches were made by Gorman, Bruce, Bernard Carter and John P. Poe, while on the stage as vice-presidents sat William L. Marbury, Richard M. Venable, Thomas S. Baer, Archibald H. Taylor, George K. McGaw, T. Wallis Blakistone, Jesse N. Bowen, Randolph Barton, Edwin Warfield, Robinson W. Cator, H. Crawford Black, John Gill, R. C. Davidson, John E. Hurst, George May, Martin Lehmann, Harry A. Parr, E. C. Slingluff, John M. Dulany, Thomas J. Boykin, Conway W. Sams and T. Edward Hambleton. Men who had fiercely assailed each other two years before joined together in support of the ticket, spoke from the same platform and for the time being sunk their differences. Marion De Kalb Smith had been renominated as

State Comptroller and the State platform strongly indorsed Cleveland and his course.

The Republicans had something of a fight in their State convention between the "Lily Whites" and the faction that wanted no color line drawn in the party, resulting in a victory for the latter, and the nomination for Comptroller of Joshua W. Horner. The faction headed by William F. Stone in the First Legislative district had a primary contest against W. W. Johnson and his friends, but were successful in obtaining the seats in the convention. Harry T. Clabaugh, as chairman of the State committee, called the convention to order, and Charles T. Westcott, of Kent county, presided. The city Republicans had put up William T. Malster as their candidate for Mayor and there was also in the field a Citizens' candidate—Frederick W. Schultz. This party, however, had no real strength back of it, as Mr. Rasin had gotten most of the reform element that usually fused in line. Latrobe carried the city by more than 7,000 plurality and the Legislature, as well as the City Council, was overwhelmingly Democratic.

The personnel of the Legislature of 1894 was as follows:

#### SENATE.

Allegany—James M. Sloane, Republican.

Anne Arundel—Robert Moss, Democrat.

Baltimore City—William Cabell Bruce, Democrat; Charles H. Evans, Democrat; Thomas G. Hayes, Democrat.

Baltimore County—John Hubner, Democrat.

Calvert—\*Thomas Parran, Republican.

Caroline—Thomas A. Smith, Democrat.

Carroll—Pinkney J. Bennett, Democrat.

Cecil—Charles C. Crothers, Democrat.

Charles—Louis C. Carrico, Democrat.

Dorchester—Joseph H. Johnson, Democrat.

Frederick—Jacob M. Newman, Democrat.

Garrett—Robert A. Ravenscroft, Republican.

Harford—William B. Baker, Republican.

Howard—John G. Rogers, Democrat.

Kent—William T. Hepbron, Democrat.

Montgomery—Hattersly W. Talbott, Democrat.  
Prince George's—William D. Bowie, Democrat.  
Queen Anne's—\*Woodland P. Finley, Democrat.  
Somerset—Levin L. Waters, Democrat.  
St. Mary's—Washington Wilkinson, Republican.  
Talbot—Oswald Tilghman, Democrat.  
Washington—David Seibert, Democrat.  
Wicomico—E. Stanley Toadvin, Democrat.  
Worcester—John Walter Smith, Democrat.

#### HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Allegany County—Joseph B. Stottlemyer, Little Orleans, Republican; William Sleeman, Vale Summit, Republican; John H. Shuck, Cumberland, Republican; Hugh McMillan, Frostburg, Republican; John H. Jones, Westernport, Republican.

Anne Arundel—James R. Brashears, Annapolis, Democrat; Charles F. Sappington, Wellham's Cross Roads, Democrat; Geo. W. Hyde, Galloway, Democrat; George M. Murray, Odenton, Democrat.

Baltimore City—(First Legislative District)—George E. Keenan, 2229 East Baltimore street, Democrat; Edward D. Fitzgerald, 422 South Ann street, Democrat; Joseph W. Hazell, 28 South Broadway, Democrat; George A. Vernetson, 1133 East Baltimore street, Democrat; William H. B. Fusselbaugh of J., 422 North Gay street, Democrat; Samuel E. Atkinson, 18 North Chester street, Democrat.

Second Legislative District—Thomas S. Baer, "The Arundel," Democrat; Charles H. Carter, 1212 Eutaw Place, Democrat; Archibald H. Taylor, 1424 Park avenue, Democrat; Charles W. Field, 615 Park avenue, Democrat; John Hemsley Johnson, 918 North Calvert street, Democrat; James H. Preston, St. James' Hotel, Democrat.

Third Legislative District—Daniel W. Stubbs, 811 Hanover street, Democrat; Henry Hassenkamp, 623 West Lee street, Democrat; Joseph P. McGonigle, 204 East Randall street, Democrat; Philip Singleton, 1203 Ridgely street, Democrat; William

D. Robinson, 839 North Fremont avenue, Democrat; John F. Williams, Highland Park, Democrat.

Garrett—A. Frederick George, Swanton, Republican; J. Geo. Kolb, Friendsville, Republican.

Harford—Samuel S. Bevard, Emmorton, Democrat; Harold Scarboro, Bel Air, Democrat; Thomas B. Hayward, Clermont Mills, Democrat; John O. Stearns, Whiteford, Democrat.

Howard—Louis P. Haslup, Annapolis Junction, Democrat; Humphrey D. Wolfe, Glenwood, Democrat.

Kent—Enoch George Clark, Millington, Democrat; Thomas Romaine Strong, Crosby, Democrat.

Montgomery—Elisha C. Etchison, Gaithersburg, Democrat; William H. Lamar, Rockville, Democrat; Robert M. Mackall, Olney, Democrat.

Prince George's—Joseph S. Wilson, Upper Marlboro, Democrat; George M. Smith, Bowie, Democrat; Dent Downing, Westwood, Democrat.

Queen Anne's—William Henry Legg, Centerville, Democrat; John O. Phillips, Kent Island, Democrat; Charles W. Clements, Crumpton, Democrat.

Baltimore County—James B. Councilman, Mount Wilson, Democrat; John C. Bosley, Spear's Wharf, City, Democrat; Frederick S. Myerly, Black Rock, Democrat; Osborne I. Yellott, Towson, Democrat; George S. Kieffer, Mount Winans, Democrat; Thomas G. Carter, Gardenville, Democrat.

Calvert—Wallace Owings, Chaneyville, Republican; William H. Dowell, Prince Frederick, Republican.

Caroline—Henry R. Lewis, Denton, Democrat; Albert W. Sisk, Preston, Democrat.

Carroll—Benjamin F. Selby, Watersville, Democrat; Noah Sullivan, Melrose, Democrat; Johnzie E. Beasman, Sykesville, Democrat; John Wesley Biggs, Bixler, Democrat.

Cecil—George S. Woolley, Chesapeake City, Democrat; Frank H. Mackie, Fair Hill, Democrat; Richard L. Thomas, Northeast, Democrat.

Charles—John E. Stone, Faulkner, Democrat; James A. Franklin, Pisgah, Democrat.

Dorchester—Francis P. Phelp, Mount Holly, Democrat; Wil-

liam F. Applegarth, Golden Hill, Democrat; Levi D. Travers, Taylor's Island, Democrat.

Frederick—Melvin P. Wood, New Market, Republican; John R. Rouzer, Mechanicstown, Republican; James P. Perry, Frederick, Republican; Andrew A. Annen, Emmitsburg, Republican; George W. Crum, Jr., Jefferson, Republican.

Somerset—Oliver P. Byrd, Crisfield, Republican; William A. Tull, Marion, Republican; Philetus H. Cannon, Monie, Republican.

St. Mary's—William F. Chesley, Mechanicsville, Republican; John S. Jones, Jarboesville, Republican.

Talbot—Ormond Hammond, Royal Oak, Democrat; William Collins, Trappe, Democrat; Francis G. Wrightson, Sherwood, Democrat.

Washington—Norman B. Scott, Jr., Hagerstown, Republican; John H. Harp, Chewsville, Republican; Tilghman J. Fahrney, Downsville, Republican; Jeremiah B. Cromer, Hagerstown, Republican.

Wicomico—Thomas S. Roberts, Tyaskin, Democrat; Albert W. Robinson, Sharptown, Democrat; Ebenezer G. Davis, Pittsville, Democrat.

Worcester—Lloyd Wilkinson, Pocomoke City, Democrat; Jerome T. Hayman, West, Democrat; Peter Whaley, Whaleyville, Democrat.

Democrats, 68; Republicans, 23.

John Walter Smith was chosen President of the Senate and James H. Preston was made Speaker of the House of Delegates. Spencer C. Jones was re-elected State Treasurer, and the big fight of the session was over the Reassessment bill, which finally failed. In the session of 1892 the assessment bill offered by Senator Hayes was beaten, but the clamor for reassessment continued, and in 1893 Brown called together a convention of the best-posted men on taxation in the State and city. He had them meet in Baltimore, and for two weeks they were in session and discussed the question at his request, his idea being that as Governor he wanted as much light on the subject as possible, so as to know how to deal with it at the next session. Hayes reintroduced his bill in 1894, and there was a long-drawn-out fight on it. Con-

ferences were held between Governor Brown, Mr. Hayes and others on the subject, and finally a bill was gotten into shape upon which all had agreed. Governor Brown says that the understanding was that no amendments of any sort were to be permitted and that the bill as agreed upon should go through without a single change. After the bill had passed the House and gone to the Senate, Governor Brown was giving a dinner at the Executive Mansion one night when Joel Haddaway Rowlensen came across from the State House and told him that Hayes had amended the bill in several particulars. Governor Brown says that he then and there announced his intention of opposing it, and the agreement was off so far as he was concerned.

The county people were mostly strongly in favor of the bill, while the opposition was chiefly in the city, the county sentiment being for a reassessment. The big business interests in the city wanted no reassessment, and it is understood that Mr. Rasin was not for the bill, although Mr. Gorman favored it and had supposed his city friend was working with him. Had Rasin been for it, the bill would have passed, notwithstanding the attitude of the Governor. After the bill failed Mr. Rasin sent Harry Welles Rusk to Washington with a message to Gorman. "Mr. Rasin says, Senator," Rusk told him, "that he could not hold the countrymen, and he had to take his hands off and let them vote against the bill."

Mr. Gorman looked at Rusk for a moment and then said: "He could not hold the countrymen, couldn't he? That was too bad."

In the Congressional campaign of 1894 that followed this session, Isidor Rayner, who had represented the Fourth district in Congress for several terms, was sidetracked for John K. Cowen. The story of how Mr. S. Davies Warfield got Mr. Cleveland to send for Rasin to come to Buzzards Bay and induced him to nominate Cowen for Congress has already been told. Cowen was elected by a small majority, but the day after he took his seat the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad went into the hands of a receiver. He was named receiver and did not again appear in Congress. It was just before this, however, that he again broke with Gorman, because of the defeat of the Rate Pooling bill in Congress. Those elected to Congress in that year were:

First District—Joshua W. Miles, long term; W. Laird Henry, short term.

Second District—William B. Baker.

Third District—Harry Welles Rusk.

Fourth District—John K. Cowen.

Fifth District—Charles E. Coffin.

Sixth District—George L. Wellington.

There was a big slump in the Democratic vote this year, and for the first time since the Civil War the Republicans divided the delegation in Congress. William B. Baker defeated Talbott in the Second district by a narrow margin, George L. Wellington defeated Ferdinand Williams in the Sixth district, and Barnes Compton was beaten by Coffin in the Fifth district.

This brings the story up to the memorable campaign of 1895, when the Republicans elected the only Governor they have had since the Civil War, and the Democratic party was turned out of the control in State, city and nation.

## CHAPTER XIX.

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### The Democratic Defeat of 1895, the Causes Thereof and the Results that Followed.

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The 1895 campaign marked the deluge. In it the political history of Maryland was remade, the bosses overthrown, their ticket overwhelmingly beaten and the Republicans placed in power in State and city. The organization, State and city, was put on the run and the whole machine shattered with a crushing blow. It was, beyond all comparison, the most important political fight ever waged in the State. It was the climax of the long struggle against Gorman and Rasin beginning in 1875, and waged unremittingly and unsuccessfully every two years until 1895, when the victory was finally attained. It was a life-and-death battle, with big stakes on both sides, and it is still fresh enough in the minds of the people to recall almost every incident. Democrats who had never before scratched a ticket, like William Pinkney Whyte, Thomas G. Hayes, Robert T. Banks and hundreds of others, arrayed themselves solidly against the party and aided in its overthrow. Cowen, with the defeat of the Railroad Rate Pooling bill rankling in his heart, jumped back into the fight against Gorman, and the Republican campaign was largely financed by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. S. Davies Warfield, William Cabell Bruce, Wm. L. Marbury, Roger W. Cull and others were leaders in the fight against the Democratic organization. Also for the first time in a generation the Republicans put to the front a really strong Gubernatorial candidate—Lloyd Lowndes—and had at the head of the party organization a big, strong man—George L. Wellington. With Wellington as chairman of the State Committee and Stone in charge of the city campaign, the Republicans made a brilliant fight, but it was the great power of THE SUN and the tremendous force of the independent Democrats who bolted

the ticket that really won the fight and elected Lowndes by a majority of nearly 20,000. Gorman lost his own county of Howard and the only unshaken strongholds of Democracy, when the battle was over, were Worcester, Wicomico, Queen Anne's, Calvert, Caroline, Harford and Montgomery. These and these only elected their legislative ticket. Everything else went down in the crash and the slaughter was terrific. With a Republican Mayor and a Republican City Council, a Republican Governor, Republican Legislature and Republican Board of Public Works, the defeat was complete and for the first time since the Civil War the Republican party was in the saddle and the majority party left without so much as a foothold in the State or city governments.

Looking back now, it is easy to see how Mr. Gorman could have avoided the crushing defeat that came, and there is reason to believe that he saw it, too, and realized that defeat was inevitable. It was Rasin who made it impossible for him to do what he really wanted to do—nominate Hayes—while Judge Fisher himself prevented his own nomination by attacking Gorman publicly a few hours after an agreement had been reached to make him the candidate. Brown he would not have, and he finally picked Mr. Hurst as the best possible solution, determined to make a desperate fight to pull him through, regardless of the prophecies of disaster and the warnings that came from his friends. The campaign followed close upon Gorman's break with Cleveland over the Wilson Tariff bill and Maryland being a Cleveland State, was up in arms over that memorable incident. Brown was still Governor and would have liked to have succeeded himself. THE SUN favored him and there was a strong sentiment among the business interests of the city for him, but whether or not Gorman feared him as a possible Senatorial candidate in 1897, the fact is he was not for him, and Brown, realizing this, came out in a statement declaring he would not accept a renomination if one were tendered him. One argument used against Brown was that his attitude on the Reassessment bill rendered him unavailable as a candidate. But there was no real force to this argument. Things drifted along for a while after the adjournment of the Legislature of 1894, with the newspapers and the people generally speculating as to the possible candidate, until Isidor Rayner, who had

been rankling over the treatment accorded him in pushing him aside to send Cowen to Congress, came out publicly as a candidate for the Governorship. He flung his banner across Baltimore street, at Light street, hired Music Hall and at a tremendous massmeeting announced his candidacy and boldly defied the bosses. He was in the fight to stay, he said, and would be on the field of battle until the last shot was fired. Ex-Governor Whyte, Mr. Edgar H. Gans and others spoke in behalf of his candidacy. The hall was packed and there was tremendous enthusiasm. Mr. Rayner made a characteristic and eloquent speech, and his high-sounding words stirred the people into believing that there would be a hot fight for the nomination.

After the meeting the Rayner candidacy boomed along for a while, and then suddenly Mr. Rayner went to Atlantic City. He could not be located for several days, but finally from there he gave out a statement, withdrawing from the race and declaring that the "fiat" of the bosses had gone out against him. It was the gossip among the politicians at the time that Rasin had told Rayner that he could have the nomination, but it would cost him \$40,000. Mr. Whyte was in Chicago at the time and knew nothing of Mr. Rayner's intention to get out of the field. His action left his friends pretty well up in the air and complicated the whole situation. They were unsparing in their denunciation of Rayner's desertion of his own standard.

Soon after his withdrawal, however, other bona fide candidates began to enter the field. John Walter Smith, of Worcester county, and Spencer C. Jones, of Montgomery, came out as avowed aspirants. Thomas G. Hayes was a candidate, and his banner was also flown across Baltimore street, a short distance east of Rayner's. Others mentioned as aspirants were Judge Robinson, of the Court of Appeals; Judge J. Upshur Dennis and James H. Preston. Then came the announcement of Judge William A. Fisher, and sentiment immediately began to crystallize behind him. He and Hayes were the really popular candidates, both of them strong with the people and both free from suspicion of being controlled by any man. It was about this time that Gorham came to the city and talked the situation over with Rasin, Thomas M. Lanahan, J. Fred C. Talbott, Barnes Compton, John

Walter Smith and others. He also had a talk with Thomas G. Hayes and was strongly in favor of making him the candidate. When the name of Hayes was mentioned to him, however, Rasin vigorously and fiercely protested. He would, he declared, under no circumstances agree to Hayes. It being impossible to nominate a city man not acceptable to Rasin, Gorman had to drop the idea of making Hayes and their sincere reason given was his attitude on the Reassessment bill, which was the reverse of Brown's. Meanwhile Fisher and his friends had been making considerable headway with his candidacy. Out in Baltimore county the sentiment was strongly for him and the biggest Democrats in the city were coming out openly in his favor. He was actively and energetically pushing his claims, and after the elimination of Hayes and the refusal of Judge Robinson to permit his name to be used, there was another conference of leaders at Gorman's room in the Renfert Hotel. There were present Gorman, Rasin, Compton and Talbott. After going over the field an agreement was reached to nominate Judge Fisher, and Mr. Gorman told Mr. Compton to see Fisher the next day and tell him that he would be acceptable to the organization. According to Congressman Talbott, who was present at the conference, it had been fully determined to nominate Judge Fisher. Everyone was agreed that it was the only thing to do under the circumstances, and it was understood that Compton was to carry the message to him the next day. The whole thing was regarded as settled and Rasin was satisfied. The next day—July 24—before Compton could deliver his message, the interview with Judge Fisher attacking and denouncing Gorman appeared in THE SUN. Judge Fisher had given this interview out on the advice of Mr. Bruce and others of his close friends, and it was a hot one. It arrayed him squarely against Mr. Gorman, whom he denounced as unworthy to be considered a Democrat. That interview prevented him from being nominated. As soon as it appeared Gorman got word to Compton, and Fisher was no longer considered by them as a candidate. The situation drifted along for a day or so, and then the name of John E. Hurst was sprung. This was exactly two days before the convention. No one had mentioned him in connection with the nomination prior to that time. The night before his name became public Gorman had conferred with Rasin at the residence of

Thomas M. Lanahan, on Charles street. Hurst followed the mention of his name came out with the statement that if nominated he would accept, and immediately THE SUN and other newspapers began the attack on Gorman and Rasin. The convention met on August 1, but before it essembled it was known the Gorman slate would go through and that there was no chance for either Hayes or Fisher. Smith and Jones, the other two avowed candidates, were never in the running.

Few persons who were there will ever forget that convention. It was the most tempestuous and unruly since that at which John Lee Carroll was nominated. Bernard Carter presided, and it was a trying time for him, as upon his shoulders fell the burden of placing Hurst in nomination in the face of a gallery of uproarious and enthusiastic adherents of Fisher and Hayes. L. Victor Baughman was chairman of the committee on resolutions, and the platform strongly indorsed Cleveland, Hurst having come out publicly as a Cleveland man. From the very start the crowd in the gallery shouted for Fisher and yelled against Gorman and Rasin. William Grason, of Baltimore county, placed Fisher in nomination, and seconding speeches were made by B. Frank Crouse, of Carroll county, and H. F. Wingert, of Frederick. These speeches were received with tremendous enthusiasm by the galleries and absolute silence by the bulk of the delegates. It was at this point that Mr. Carter called James H. Preston to the chair and took the floor to nominate Hurst. At the first mention of his name the crowd yelled "Gorman's man!" Mr. Carter appealed for order and Mr. Preston threatened to have the galleries cleared. The crowd laughed, and, from the start to the finish of Mr. Carter's speech, tormented him with interruptions, comments, yells and advice. When it was over Mr. Carter plainly showed the strain of the ordeal which he had endured. Hayes was nominated by William T. Biedler, and all through the speech the crowd kept shouting "Poor Tom Hayes." There was but one ballot. Hurst got 79 votes, Fisher 31, Hayes 2 and Jones 5. John Walter Smith's name was not presented to the convention. Gorman was not in evidence at the convention, but prior to its meeting he received the county and city leaders in his room at the Carrollton Hotel. It was here that Hayes, who had been promised Gorman's support

and depended upon it, believing that he had been betrayed, rushed in and dramatically denounced Mr. Gorman to his face, accusing him of treachery and declaring that he would live to see him defeated and would never rest until it had been done. Hayes shook his fist at Mr. Gorman and declared he had been a traitor to a friend who had trusted him fully. His voice could be heard in adjoining rooms. Throughout the tirade Mr. Gorman remained unmoved, attempting no explanation or answer. It was as if he had not heard Mr. Hayes at all. The two votes that Hayes got in the convention were those of William T. Biedler, from Baltimore city, and one delegate from Calvert county. Fisher got 6 from Allegany; 1 from Baltimore city—John T. Gray; 5 from Baltimore county; 3 from Charles; 4 from Dorchester; 2 from Garrett; 2½ from Harford and 3½ from Washington.

The ticket as nominated was as follows:

For Governor—John E. Hurst, of Baltimore.

For Comptroller—Marion De Kalb Smith, of Kent county.

For Attorney-General—Charles C. Crothers, of Cecil county.

Immediately following the convention the batteries of THE SUN and of the anti-Gorman and anti-Rasin Democrats in the city and State were unloosed. Democrat after Democrat began to come out openly against the ticket. THE SUN teemed with editorials denouncing bossism and calling upon the people to arise and defeat the machine-made ticket. One editorial of unusual strength, which was said to be one of the most effective pieces of political writing published in years, was entitled "The Dual Despotism of Gorman and Rasin." The Federation of Labor met and decided to oppose the election of Hurst. Messrs. Whyte, Hayes, Banks, Packard, Marbury, Bruce, Keyser, Cull and others, came out strongly against the ticket, and long before the Republicans put their candidates in the field the town began to sizzle with the heat of the campaign. In the meantime, Cowen and others were busy endeavoring to have nominated the strongest Republican ticket possible. There were three avowed candidates in the field—Lloyd Lowndes, William T. Malster and William B. Baker, of Harford county. It was the first time in many years there had been a contest for a Republican Gubernatorial nomination. Usually the difficulty had been in getting an acceptable man to take the nomina-

tion. This time there was a hot fight for it. Every Republican in the State believed that this was the time to win. The convention was held in Cambridge on August 15, and John C. Rose was the presiding officer, having been selected by the Lowndes forces, who were led by George L. Wellington. Sydney E. Mudd led the Malster element in the convention, but soon saw that there was no chance for his candidate except through a combination with Baker. Mudd opposed the selection of Rose as presiding officer and nominated Charles Westcott, of Kent county. The vote on the presiding officer, which was a test vote, was: Rose, 68½; Westcott 47½. Mudd then tried to take a recess, but this was voted down. After some routine work had been done a recess was taken. During the recess the Malster men counted noses, saw they could not win, and Mudd, when the convention assembled, in a speech in which he said he put the interests of the party above the interests of any man, withdrew Malster's name "in the interest of party harmony" and urged the nomination of Lowndes by acclamation. The enthusiasm that followed this announcement was tremendous. The nomination was made by acclamation as suggested. The remainder of the ticket was then quickly made up, the whole ticket being as follows:

For Governor—Lloyd Lowndes.

Comptroller—Robert F. Graham.

Attorney-General—Harry L. Clabaugh.

It was at Lowndes' request that Wellington took the chairmanship of the State Central Committee, and Wellington's work in this campaign was of a fine character. In the meantime Henry Williams had been brought out as a candidate for Mayor by the Business Men's Association, and agreed to be the Democratic standard-bearer in the city. This was the ticket nominated by the city convention on October 3:

Mayor—Henry Williams.

State's Attorney—William F. Campbell.

Clerk of the Superior Court—James Bond.

Clerk of Circuit Court No. 2—William R. Brewer.

Judges of the Orphans' Court—George W. Lindsay, Daniel Gans and William F. Edwards.

Sheriff—Thomas F. Locke.

Surveyor—Augustus Bouldin.

The city convention, too, was a stormy one, the chief bone of contention being the nomination for Sheriff. Thomas F. McNulty had made a big fight for the nomination, and the sentiment in the town was overwhelmingly in his favor. Rasin refused to permit him to be named, and nominated Locke in the face of a storm of protest from the galleries. Harry Welles Rusk called the convention to order, and Gen. A. C. Trippe presided. Mr. Richard McSherry nominated Mr. Williams and Archibald H. Taylor seconded the nomination. Immediately following the city convention the legislative district convention met and named the following legislative ticket:

First District—Senate—Edward D. Fitzgerald. House of Delegates—Samuel M. Heazy, George Eisenberg, Adam Deupert, George W. Albaugh, Frank H. Armiger and William Dinear.

Second District—George M. Upshur, Isaac Lobe Straus, Robt. F. Leach, Charles H. Carter, Martin Lehmayr and Francis F. Graham.

Third District—Senate—Conway W. Sams. House of Delegates—Henry P. Chambers, Harold B. Scrimger, T. J. Schaumloefel, Gustav Englehardt, Philip J. Singleton and William D. Robinson.

The Republican city ticket was as follows:

Mayor—Alcaeus Hooper.

State's Attorney—Henry Duffy.

Clerk of the Superior Court—Robert Ogle.

Clerk of Circuit Court No. 2—Alfred J. Schultz.

Sheriff—Stephen R. Mason.

Judges of the Orphans Court—Thomas R. Rich, C. F. Riehl and J. Henry Naas.

Surveyor—Frank H. Sloan.

Malster was a candidate for the Mayoralty nomination, and up to within a day or two of the convention Noble H. Creager had been his chief opponent. Hooper was the dark horse, and the Creager forces going over to him, his nomination was assured. The Hooper-Creager combination also made it possible to name Stephen R. Mason, who had been backed by William F. Airey,

for Sheriff. William O. Atwood in this campaign ran as the Prohibition candidate for Mayor.

In the month that followed the whole State rang with the campaign, which in bitterness and fierceness eclipsed any that have since been held. Mr. Gorman threw himself personally into the fight and defied his enemies. He spoke in Baltimore at Cross Street Market Hall, Broadway Institute and Hollins Hall, and at Snow Hill, Ellicott City and other places in the counties. Personally he led the fight, making more speeches than he had done in any previous campaign and fighting desperately against great odds to win. Besides Mr. Gorman, the principal speaking was done by Mr. Bernard Carter, John P. Poe and Isaac Lobe Straus, the latter of whom was on the ticket for the House of Delegates. Mr. Rayner took no part in the campaign. He did not come out against the ticket, like Hayes and Whyte, but he made no speeches for it, and after his withdrawal as a candidate kept quiet. In this campaign the individual who probably did more effective work against the ticket than any other man was Roger W. Cull, who was then chairman of the committee on elections of the Reform League. In this capacity Mr. Cull did tremendous service for the Republicans. It was he who exposed the registration frauds in the city, and who by a plan of registered letters sent to voters broke up the schemes of the politicians and kept them on the defensive. It was he who manned the polls on election day with Reform League watchers, and who made of the Reform League a force and influence in that fight which it has never been since. Wellington and the Republican management ably managed their end of the fight. Theodore Roosevelt, who was then Police Commissioner of New York, was brought down here and made a red-hot speech at Music Hall with John V. L. Findlay and Lowndes. Gen. Felix Agnus presided at this meeting and Roosevelt scored the police and politicians. Under the management of Mr. Cull and his committee a Reform League mass-meeting was held at the same place, at which Joseph Packard, then its president; William Keyser, David L. Bartlett, Colonel Charles Marshall and Roger W. Cull spoke. In this speech Mr. Cull flayed John J. Mahon, who had been made chairman of the city executive committee, and it was at this meeting that a letter

from Carl Schurz opposing Mr. Gorman was read. The most spectacular feature of the campaign on the Democratic side was the big parade held on Friday, November 1, in which 15,000 of the unterrified marched through the streets of the city. This parade was Gorman's idea, he hoping by it to instill confidence and enthusiasm into his forces and demonstrate that the local Democracy was solidly back of the ticket. It was to be the organization's high card. There had been rumors that Rasin was not true to the cause, and it had been hinted that he had had an interview with Cowen. There was a story told at the time that Mr. Gorman heard of this interview and accused Rasin of not being squarely for the ticket, and that Rasin in turn accused Morrison, Slater and Mahon. The truth of this story cannot be vouched for, and those who were closest to Mr. Rasin deny it absolutely, and assert he was earnestly for the ticket. In any event, the parade was a mistake. It was a tremendous demonstration, but there was no heart in it and no joy about it. The high card proved to be a deuce. Ahead of the procession was a float on which was mounted a gigantic bell that pealed out the announcement of the coming of the host. The next morning THE SUN in a memorable story pictured the parade as a funeral procession, with the big bell tolling the knell of the Gorman-Rasin ring. This nullified the whole effect of the demonstration, which cost thousands of dollars and did not get a vote. Henry T. Douglas was chief marshal of the procession, and the heads of the different divisions were as follows:

First—John Hannibal.

Second—Thomas F. McNulty.

Third—W. Stuart Symington.

Fourth—Frank J. Pentz.

Fifth—William T. Biedler.

John J. Mahon, wearing a red shirt and white cap, led the John J. Mahon Democratic Club. Harry Parr, J. McKenny White, Gen. John Gill and Henry Williams rode in a carriage together, while Mayor F. C. Latrobe occupied one by himself. Governor Brown and a hundred prominent Democrats, with many of the candidates on the State and city tickets, reviewed the parade from a big stand, and there was speechmaking and fireworks. But it

was all in vain. There was a dead note to the big procession. The men in it shouted and cheered, but the real, genuine confidence was lacking, and from the pavements, as it passed through the crowd guyed and made fun. John E. Hurst, the Gubernatorial candidate, worn out with campaigning, was not present, and it was, in fact, as near a funeral procession as a thing of that kind could be.

The Democrats opposed to the ticket followed up the parade with a monster mass-meeting, at which Whyte, Keyser, Joseph S. Heuisler, Colonel Marshall and Jacob S. Rosenthal spoke. Roger W. Cull continued with his charges of registration frauds and repeaters, and THE SUN opened up with its 13-inch guns.

Election day came on November 5, and it was the most turbulent and disorderly election held in Baltimore for years, and it was the last disorderly election that has taken place in this city. The organization in its desperation, tried to "rough" it. Several negroes were shot, and some of them died. In the old Seventeenth ward, in South Baltimore, the "bloody seventeenth," the rioting was worse than anywhere else in the city, although it was almost as bad in the old Ninth, which also claimed the title "bloody."

Reform League watchers all over the city were assaulted and driven from the polls. This was the time when William McCarty hit Leigh Bonsal in the eye while he was talking with a policeman. He was arrested and fined \$5. Alfred S. Niles, another Reform League watcher, now judge, was struck in the eye in the Seventeenth ward. Dr. Howard A. Kelly was hit in the face and had his nose broken, and Prof. W. J. Bliss, of the Johns Hopkins University, who was on duty in the Ninth ward, was badly beaten. He had his jaw broken, and had to be taken home.

William P. Riggs was one of the watchers. He was a tremendous man, even in those days, and was called "Bull" Riggs, because he was supposed to have the strength of a bull. The story runs that he was walking down Hanover street on his way to the polls he was to watch when one of the ring toughs "soaked the Charles street dude" in the neck, without really knowing just what sort of a Charles street dude he was "soaking." Riggs swung on his assailant, landed a tremendous punch which sent the man clear across the pavement against a store with such force

that the door was almost broken open. Others of the watchers, not so husky, were beaten and kicked. Rowdyism and fighting was rampant, but the tide was against the organization, and when the votes were counted Lowndes had swept the State by 18,728 plurality and Hooper had been elected Mayor by 8,000.

Francis E. Yewell, the builder, made, in this campaign, an independent fight for the Mayoralty. He had been a candidate for the Democratic nomination and after the convention continued his appeal direct to the people. A feature of the fight was the mix-up in the Board of Election Supervisors that finally resulted in the resignation of Dr. George H. Cairnes and the removal of Mr. John C. Holland, a Republican. Governor Brown then appointed Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte and Mr. Thomas M. Lanahan, and the board was in a continual fight from that time on. The other member was Captain Bians, an organization Democrat, and there were some exceedingly lively sessions. Some of the men—Democrats—who in this fight arrayed themselves against the ticket, besides those mentioned, were: Thornton Rollins, George T. Gambrill, Thomas McCosker, Stewart Brown, J. Southgate Lemmon, T. Wallis Blakistone, William Winchester, Joseph Tate, Fabian Franklin, D. J. Foley, Andrew M. Reid, William H. Grafflin, William F. Wheatley, Arthur George Brown, Francis K. Carey, John Pleasants, Lawrason Riggs, H. C. Shirley and Wiloughby N. Smith.

The Legislature elected was composed of 82 Republicans and 35 Democrats. Its personnel, complete, was as follows:

#### SENATE.

Allegany—James M. Sloan, Republican.

Anne Arundel—J. Wirt Randall, Republican.

Baltimore City—(1st)—Gustavus A. Dobler, Republican; (2)—William Cabell Bruce, Democrat; (3)—Frank S. Strobridge, Republican.

Baltimore County—D. Hooper Emory, Republican.

Calvert—John J. B. Bond, Democrat.

Caroline—Thomas A. Smith, Democrat.

Carroll—Joshua W. Hering, Democrat.

Cecil—Charles C. Crothers, Democrat.  
Charles—Louis C. Carrico, Democrat.  
Dorchester—Joseph H. Johnson, Democrat.  
Frederick—Frank C. Norwood, Republican.  
Garrett—Robert A. Ravenscroft, Republican.  
Harford—Charles W. Michael, Democrat.  
Howard—George D. Day, Republican.  
Kent—Charles T. Westcott, Republican.  
Montgomery—Hattersly W. Talbott, Democrat.  
Prince George's—William D. Bowie, Democrat.  
Queen Anne's—Woodland P. Finley, Democrat.  
Somerset—A. Lincoln Dryden, Republican.  
St. Mary's—Washington Wilkinson, Republican.  
Talbot—Oswald Tilghman, Democrat.  
Washington—Norman B. Scott, Jr., Republican.  
Wicomico—Elihu E. Jackson, Democrat.  
Worcester—John Watler Smith, Democrat.

## HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Allegany—David E. Dick, Republican; Albert E. Ohr, Republican; David Robertson, Republican; Frank Porter, Republican; James Campbell, Republican.

Anne Arundel—James Cheston, Jr., Republican; Thomas M. Cole, Republican; J. Frank Krems, Republican; J. Winslow Jones, Republican.

Baltimore City—(First District)—Samuel Smith Ford, Republican; John A. Janetzke, Republican; Charles E. Cunningham, Republican; Charles W. H. Burns, Republican; William H. Schilling, Republican; George W. Padgett, Republican.

Second District—George H. Mason, Jr., Republican; Yates Pennington, Republican; Lewis Putzel, Republican; Harry N. Abercrombie, Republican; Rufus W. Applegarth, Republican; Lindley M. Huggins, Republican.

Third District—Henry N. Bankard, Republican; Edward F. Tolson, Republican; George W. Warrenberger, Republican; Chas. M. Nash, Republican; George J. Kaufman, Republican; Frederick R. Bye, Republican.

Cecil—William J. Smith, Republican; Lewis T. Logan, Republican; Webster White, Republican.

Charles—Sydney E. Mudd, Republican; Thomas Norman, Republican.

Dorchester—Charles M. M. Wingate, Republican; William D. Hopkins, Republican; W. Spry Bradley, Republican.

Frederick—Job M. Miller, Republican; George W. Crum, Jr., Republican; John R. Rouzer, Republican; Charles F. Markell, Republican; Melvin P. Wood, Republican.

Garrett—Charles E. Hilleary, Republican; Christian J. Otto, Republican.

Harford—T. Littleton Hanway, Democrat; John L. G. Lee, Democrat; William M. Whiteford, Democrat; Robert Seneca, Democrat.

Howard—Richard C. Pindell, Republican; Walter S. Black, Republican.

Kent—James H. Baker, Republican; John P. Nicholson, Democrat.

Montgomery—Edward J. Chiswell, Democrat; Elisha C. Etchison, Democrat; Josiah J. Hutton, Democrat.

Baltimore County—Wesley R. Whittaker, Republican; Samuel H. Dehoff, Republican; Peter F. Wilhelm, Republican; Emanuel W. Herman, Republican; Frederick A. Birkefeld, Republican; Zebedee Householder, Republican.

Calvert—Joseph M. Sherbert, Democrat; John F. Ireland, Democrat.

Caroline—Henry R. Lewis, Democrat; Joseph C. Clark, Democrat.

Carroll—Charles H. Smith, Republican; Charles J. H. Ganter, Republican; William F. Cover, Republican; Clotworthy Birnie, Republican.

Prince George's—Millard F. Schooley, Republican; William D. Pyles, Republican; George Holmes, Republican.

Queen Anne's—George M. Vansant, Democrat; John O. Phillips, Democrat; Eugene L. Dudley, Democrat.

Somerset—Franklin E. Cox, Republican; Maurice N. Carew, Republican; Oliver P. Byrd, Republican.

St. Mary's—William F. Chesley, Republican; John S. Jones, Republican.

Talbot—Isaac A. Barber, Republican; Henry Clay Dodson, Republican; Hiram S. Hall, Republican.

Washington—John J. Koontz, Republican; Newton S. Cook, Republican; S. Alfred Harnish, Republican; William H. Lamar, Republican.

Wicomico—George T. Truitt, Democrat; William S. Moore, Democrat; Granville M. Catlin, Democrat.

Worcester—William F. Johnson, Democrat; Horace F. Harmonson, Democrat; Edwin H. Taylor, Democrat.

Sydney E. Mudd became Speaker of the House and W. Cabell Bruce President of the Senate.

The story of Mr. Bruce's selection and of the session of 1896, as well as the fight of 1897, which resulted in the defeat of Mr. Gorman to re-election to the Senate, giving the Republicans both United States Senators, will be told in a subsequent chapter.

## CHAPTER XX.

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### Maryland Under Republican Rule—The Lowndes Administration —Rise of William F. Stone.

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From the close of the Civil War to 1895 the political history of Maryland is the history of the Democratic party.

In all that period the Republicans had practically no voice in either city or State government. Their representation in City Council and the Legislature was pitifully small. In campaign after campaign they scarcely counted at all. In some years they nominated candidates of their own, but more often they fused with the independent and bolting Democrats and waged their battles under Democratic auspices and guidances. The time has now come, however, when the turn of the political wheel places them in power and the reins of government are in their hands. From 1895, with the election of Lowndes and Malster, until 1899, when Thomas G. Hayes was elected Mayor and John Walter Smith Governor, they were the whole show; and the majority party, through the split in its ranks and the revolt against its leaders, was out in the cold. It is proper now to look back over the years and tell something of the inside workings of the Republican party and the men who ran it.

Today the most conspicuous and influential Republican is William F. Stone, who has just been appointed for the fourth time Collector of Customs for Baltimore, eclipsing the record of any other man who has held this office. Stone stands today the acknowledged State as well as city leader, and he is the first man in his party since the war who has held these dual positions. His success in welding together the discordant elements has been phenomenal, and the claim is made that there exists in the party less factionalism and less friction than has existed in a generation. A year or so ago, when Stone first won his laurels as State leader, there was a coterie of influential Republicans, such as



WILLIAM F. STONE.



Goldsborough, Parran, Mudd, Jackson, Wachter and others, who were bitter in their denunciation and fierce in their opposition to him. Now every one of these men has apparently sunk his grievance and become the political friend of Stone. Oil has been plentifully poured upon the troubled waters, and there is now no leader of power in either city or counties who is openly fighting him or who can be classed as his enemy. The truth is the Republican party is more united and in better condition than it has been since the campaign of 1895. All of this is a tribute to the diplomacy and shrewdness of Mr. Stone as a manager and his present prominence makes a glance back over his career of peculiar interest.

Before he began to hold public office, Stone was a bookkeeper or something of that sort. It was in 1880—30 years ago—that he first made his appearance in politics, going to the Third Congressional district convention of that year as a delegate from the old Seventh Ward and helping to nominate Joshua Horner. Before that time he had begun to take an interest in the politics of the ward and had made a good many friends. Prior to 1891 the Republican organization was vastly different from that of the present day. Each ward had its president and secretary who looked after the interests of the party in the municipal campaigns, while in every ward there was also a member of the State committee, who ran things in the State fights. It was in the fall of 1881 that Stone was elected president of the Seventh ward after a hot primary contest. Stephen R. Mason was the leader of the faction of the party that supported Stone and there were two other candidates in the field. This was his first fight, and he won overwhelmingly, receiving a majority greater than his opponents did votes. Soon after this he became secretary of the Seventh Ward Republican Association, which is now the Pioneer Republican Club of the Eighth Ward, and a little later, when Stephen R. Mason, who was then its President, moved into another ward. Stone succeeded him as its head. This was the way he got his start in politics, and he has been active in every campaign since. In the new judges fight of 1882 he had charge of the Republican end of the Seventh Ward and supported the new judges, although there was a straight Republican ticket in the field. At this time

there were two factions of the party in the city, one known as the Postoffice faction and the other as the Custom House faction. The leader of one was Col. Edwin H. Webster, who then held Stone's present position, and the other was led by Col. Harrison Adreon, who was the Postmaster of Baltimore. Mr. Stone affiliated himself with the Postoffice faction and there were many bitter primary struggles between the two sides.

Probably the biggest Republican in the State at this period was Gen. James A. Gary. He, with United States Senator A. J. Creswell, of Cecil, and Colonel Webster of Harford county, co-operated and controlled the party organization in the State. General Gary in 1879 was the Republican candidate for Governor. He was then and he still is one of the big men of his party, looked up to and respected throughout Maryland.

Some others of the prominent figures in the party in the early eighties and later were Judge Hoffman, of Allegany county; H. Clay Naill, of Frederick county; Samuel W. Bradford, W. W. Johnson, William F. Airey, D. Pinkney West, G. Hugh B. Askew, Emory Weatherby, William T. Henderson and others. Louis E. McComas was looming up in Western Maryland, but Lowndes, Wellington and Pearre did not become factors in that section of the State until later. In these days the Republican cause was hopeless and the only rewards coming from control of the organization were in the nature of the Federal plums distributed by the Republican Presidents. These were fought over far more bitterly than were the nominations for Governor or Mayor. Usually the nominations went begging and the party people were generally content to fall in line behind the independent Democrats. There were, however, some hot old primary fights between the different factions for control of the organization.

Between 1883 and 1887 William F. Airey came strongly to the front and was practically the city boss. He had always to fight to retain his hold, however, and in 1887 there was a particularly bitter contest between Airey and his friends on the one side and W. W. Johnson, Stephen R. Mason and their following on the other. Stone was with the anti-Airey element, and the fight centered in his district—the First. In the State convention following these primaries both sides sent delegates and a vigorous fight

was made for the seats, the anti-Airey delegates finally winning. The State Central Committee followed this up by recognizing the Stone element in the district, and Stone was then elected the legislative district executive, which gave him sway over the first six wards in the city. This was his second step to the front and a big one.

In 1888 Airey and Johnson, who had been fighting each other, buried the hatchet and combined. They both went to Chicago as delegates to the national convention and both were strong for Harrison. After Harrison's election Johnson became Postmaster and Airey became United States Marshal. Stone was an applicant for the latter place, but did not have the strength back of him at the time to land such a prize against a leader like Airey. The Johnson-Airey combination continued in the saddle in the city pretty well from this time until 1893, when there was another warm fight, in which Stone fought the combination, and again the delegates hostile to Airey were seated by the Republican State Convention.

The feeling between the factions, however, was so bitter that Gary and other of the State leaders felt that some drastic action was necessary. Accordingly, a resolution was adopted by which the whole of the old city organization was ousted and the State convention chairman, Charles T. Westcott, of Kent county, authorized to name a new city committee. This he did, and among the men who were selected as members of the new committee were George R. Gaither, Daniel L. Brinton, Henry Stockbridge, Noble L. Creager, Frank S. Strobridge, Richard A. Dunn, James E. McClellan, William T. Henderson and William F. Stone. Immediately after its creation this committee met and Stone was unanimously chosen chairman. This was his third and biggest step upward toward the head of his party. The first fight he managed as chairman of the city committee was the first time Malster ran for Mayor, and he reduced the Democratic plurality in the city from about 15,000 when Cleveland ran two years before to 4,800. The contest for Congress in the Third district between Harry Welles Rusk and Dr. William S. Booze was so close that Booze contested the seat, but it was in 1894 that the Republicans really caught their first

glimpse of the silver linings to the clouds. In this year for the first time since the war they gained control of the First Branch City Council, electing 12 of the 22 members and electing a Republican President of the branch—Alcaeus Hooper.

Then came along the 1895 campaign, the story of which has already been told. Stone and Airey had by this time gotten together, and both supported Lowndes in the city primaries for delegates to the State convention. Lowndes carried the Second district, Malster the Third and the First district was contested. In the State convention Stone made the fight before the credentials committee for the seating of the Lowndes delegates from the First district, while the late Charles L. Wilson represented the Malster element. Phillips Lee Goldsborough and David W. Sloan were conspicuous Lowndes men in the convention, but the real leader of the Lowndes force was George L. Wellington, who was then in Congress and had become a factor in Western Maryland. It was at Lowndes' request that Wellington became chairman of the State committee and Stone was re-elected after the convention as chairman of the city committee. They had joint headquarters in the National Bank of Baltimore Building, and at that time Stone was a strong Wellington man.

Immediately following the election the Republican members of the City Council met and decided in caucus upon Mr. Stone for the City Registership. This was one place that Stone did not seek, and he was genuinely surprised when Henry F. New, William C. Clay and J. S. Allison told him of what the caucus had done. He was elected City Register in January, 1896, and then came the first Bryan-McKinley campaign.

Wellington had become the State leader, and was in complete control of the organization. He had been elected to the United States Senate at the session of 1896, to take the place of Charles H. Gibson, but had not yet taken his seat. Wellington announced his candidacy immediately after the election of Lowndes, and it was conceded that his party services entitled him to the place. There was, however, in the way the Eastern Shore law, and this was the turn of the Eastern Shore to have the Senator. Phillips Lee Goldsborough was a candidate, and made a strong fight. The city delegates lined up for Wellington, and although Governor

Lowndes did not openly declare himself, one of his early appointments gave an indication of where he stood. If Wellington was to be recognized by Lowndes in the distribution of the patronage the Goldsborough forces could not hold their men in line. No one knew what Lowndes would do until Robert Crain, who had been Liquor License Commissioner under Governor Brown, resigned. This gave Lowndes an immediate appointment. Upon the recommendation of Stone he named T. Frank Tyler. Stone was with Wellington, and this appointment was regarded as significant. A day or two following there was sufficient changes in the caucus to nominate Wellington, and he was elected. Gen. Thomas J. Shryock was elected State Treasurer, his only opponent being William T. Brigham.

Some of the more important of the Lowndes appointments were:

Supervisors of Elections—Robert H. Smith, Edmund H. Hoffman and Charles H. Carter.

Liquor License Board—T. Frank Tyler, Louis T. Weis and R. Dorsey Coale.

Insurance Commissioner—F. Albert Kurtz.

Commander of the Oyster Navy—Capt. E. S. S. Turner, of Wicomico.

At this time the Police Commissioners were elected by the Legislature, and these were the ones chosen:

Daniel C. Heddinger, Republican.

W. W. Johnson, Republican.

Edson M. Shriver, Democrat.

There was a tremendous amount of criticism of the two Republicans on this board and it formed one of the weakest spots in the Lowndes administration. Lowndes himself made an excellent Governor, but he was unfortunate in the character of some of his appointees and in the record made by the Legislatures of 1896 and 1898, both of which will long be remembered. Another feature that helped disgust the public with the Republican regime was the prominence of the negroes at Annapolis and elsewhere. Both the State House and the City Hall teemed with them, and their arrogance and impudence aroused general resentment. Governor Lowndes was a high-toned man and socially his adminis-

tration was, perhaps, the most popular of any Governor, but the power and patronage so suddenly gained seemed too much for the politicians of the party, and particularly in Baltimore the conduct of affairs was not creditable.

The story of how Alcaeus Hooper became Mayor has been told. Almost as soon as he took his seat he became involved in a heated and prolonged controversy with the City Council over the question of appointments. Hooper declined to recognize the recommendations of the Council, and determined to make his own selections regardless of them. The Council got its back up and passed ordinances taking away from the Mayor the right of appointment and placing this power in the hands of the Council. This was before the day of the new Charter. The Council went ahead and selected heads for the various departments. Hooper promptly refused to qualify the men thus selected. The matter was then taken into court. William Shepard Bryan, Jr., Henry Stockbridge and Daniel L. Brinton represented the City Council, and City Solicitor Thomas Ireland Elliott represented Mayor Hooper. The test case was over Noble L. Creager, who had been elected Tax Collector by the Council. The case was tried before Judge Ritchie, who sustained the Council. Mayor Hooper took an appeal, and after some weeks of waiting the Court of Appeals reversed the lower court and sustained Hooper, who then went ahead with his appointments, naming John F. Parlett City Collector, Charles D. Fenhausen City Comptroller, A. Roswel Cathcart and John F. McFaul Fire Commissioners.

In the meantime the 1896 Bryan-McKinley campaign had been waged and won, with the help of the anti-Bryan and Gold Democrats. McKinley had been inaugurated and the Republicans all over the State were engaged in a struggle for the Federal offices. The Congressmen elected in that year were:

First District—Dr. Isaac A. Barber, of Talbot.

Second—William B. Baker, of Harford county.

Third—Dr. W. S. Booze.

Fourth—William W. McIntire.

Fifth—Sydney E. Mudd.

Sixth—John MacDonald, of Montgomery.

Maryland and the Maryland Congressmen made a big fight

to make Gen. James A. Gary a member of McKinley's Cabinet. In February, 1897, the Republican Representatives and Senators in Congress from the Southern States held a meeting in Washington, and decided to ask McKinley to appoint General Gary to the Cabinet as a recognition of the South. The conference designated George L. Wellington, of Maryland, and Walter P. Brownlow, of Tennessee, to go to Canton to acquaint McKinley with the action of the Southern Representatives in Congress. At the last minute Wellington found it impossible to go, and designated Stone as his substitute. Stone and Brownlow went to Canton and laid the case before the President, who promised to take it under advisement, but did not commit himself. A day or so after their return General Gary received a long distance telephone message asking him to come to Canton. He complied, and upon reaching McKinley's home McKinley offered him the Postmaster-Generalship, which he accepted.

Stone, in the meantime, was a candidate for Postmaster of Baltimore. He had made a big fight for the place and was strongly indorsed. Great pressure was brought to bear on McKinley, however, to retain S. Davies Warfield, who had been appointed by Mr. Cleveland in 1893. Mr. Warfield had supported McKinley as vigorously as any Republican in the State, and he had also raised a large sum of money for the campaign in Maryland. His services were of a kind that could not be ignored, and his friends, not only in Maryland, but in New York, convinced McKinley that he should be retained. When this developed Stone realized that he was up against it, but the strength of his support was such that McKinley felt compelled to recognize him, and did so by making him Collector of Customs, which place he has held ever since.

Some of the Federal appointments made by McKinley in his first term were: Collector of Customs, William F. Stone; Naval Officer, Norman B. Scott; Surveyor, John B. Hanna; District Attorney, John C. Rose; Collector of Internal Revenue, Benjamin F. Parlett; Immigration Commissioner, Percy C. Hennighausen, and Appraiser, Henry R. Torbert.

At the expiration of Hooper's term as Mayor in 1897 Malster's friends and the Columbian Club gathered their forces together

for another battle for the "ship-builder." The organization candidate in the primaries for the Mayoralty nomination was Theodore Marburg, who had been forced on it by a committee of business men, including Edward L. Bartlett, William T. Dixon, Thomas J. Hayward, Isaac H. Dixon, Daniel E. Conklin and Nicholas P. Bond. All of these friends of Marburg were industriously working in his behalf, and a committee representing them had a conference with Collector Stone and secured his support. They also had the support of Airey, and believed the nomination could be landed easily. Marburg was anxious to be Mayor, and the whole road looked smooth.

When the city committee, however, met and adopted regulations governing the primaries, the Malster element disputed the right of the committee to do certain things, and refused to abide by its action.

The controversy was taken to court. George R. Gaither, Thomas Ireland Elliott and Edgar H. Gans represented the Malster element, and Isidor Rayner, John C. Rose and Daniel L. Brinton represented the City Committee. Judge Harlan heard the case, and without leaving his seat on the bench decided in favor of the City Committee. The Malster people then refused to enter the primaries and held primaries of their own. The whole business came up at the State convention at Ocean City in August, which body threw both sides out and ordered a new set of primaries. In the new primaries Marburg did not appear as a candidate, and Malster was nominated without opposition, together with a full Councilmanic ticket of Malster men. Malster and his ticket were elected, and for two years thereafter the Columbian Club was in control of the organization of the party in the city, and the Stone-Airey element was to a large extent outside of the breastworks. "Charlie" Wilson was the power behind the throne in the city administration, and the patronage all went toward the creation of a Columbian Club machine, of which he was the head. Malster, too, had his break with the Council, Samuel Eccles, E. Clay Timanus, Thomas W. Skinner, Charles W. Hatter, John C. Simmering, George C. Warrenberger and other members refusing to co-operate with him.

When the Legislature met the Malster element in the city dele-

gation—11 of them—bolted the Republican caucus, which had decided upon Judge Ashley M. Gould for Speaker, and by making a combination with the Democrats elected Louis C. Schaefer, whose record as a speaker was—well, the less said about it the better. At this time Wellington still retained the State leadership. George A. Pearre had been elected to Congress. Mudd was the strong figure in Southern Maryland, and William H. Jackson had changed from a Democrat to a Republican. His change came in 1895. Prior to that time he had been an ardent Democrat, and contributed almost as largely to the Democratic campaigns as he has since to the Republican fights. McComas was a Federal judge, but the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, through Mr. Cowen, was anxious that he should go to the United States Senate. Wellington and McComas had become politically friendly, and the Wellington-Stone combination supported McComas for the Senatorship to succeed Mr. Gorman. Alexander K. Shaw was a candidate, and was supported by the Malster element in the city and by the Baltimore American.

It is stated that at the time the fight was being made to make Mr. Gary the Postmaster-General Messrs. George R. Gaither and Harry C. Clabaugh went to Canton and saw Mr. McKinley in the interest of Judge McComas, who was also ambitious to enter the Cabinet. This visit became known to General Gary, and caused the break between him and McComas that lasted for years. McKinley did not appoint McComas then, but the next year he did use his influence for him in the Senatorship fight.

It was believed that Governor Lowndes desired the Senatorship, but he was induced, principally, by Mr. Cowen and Mr. S. D. Warfield not to make the fight, and McComas won. It was at this session—1898—that Wachter made his successful fight to become Police Commissioner. Wachter had become somewhat of a figure in Baltimore politics, but was considered a Malster man, and the Lowndes influence in the Legislature was against him. His first nomination for Congress came in the fall of 1898, and he was named without opposition in the primaries. Those elected to Congress that year were:

First District—John Walter Smith.

Second—J. F. C. Talbott.

Third—Frank C. Wachter.

Fourth—James W. Denny.

Fifth—Sydney E. Mudd.

Sixth—George A. Pearre.

Right here, it is worth while to tell how Wachter won his first fight for Congress in 1898. The district at the time was Democratic and Wachter was comparatively new as a candidate. His Democratic opponent was Dr. John B. Schwatka. The fight had been a hot one, and the various ward clubs, church and charitable organizations had taken advantage of the situation to sell tickets to the opposing candidates for numerous functions. Both Schwatka and Wachter had bought and bought until they were tired. The second week before the election, a Fourth ward delegation came to Dr. Schwatka with a request that he buy \$50 worth of tickets for a big ball to be held in Schlegel's Hall three days before the election. They happened to catch Dr. Schwatka at a time when this sort of "hold-up" game had gotten on his nerves. He turned the delegation down hard, told them he would not buy a single ticket and otherwise expressed himself as to what he thought of the kind of robbery they typified. Sore and revengeful, the delegation went to Wachter's German street office. They found Wachter in much the same frame of mind as his opponent. Before he could answer the delegation, however, the astute William M. Stewart, his close political adviser, took the candidate aside and explained some things to him. The result was Wachter bought \$25 worth of the tickets. On the night of the ball, Wachter put in an appearance at Schlegel's Hall. He was received with glad shouts by the reception committee, introduced to every voter in the place, danced once or twice with the "ladies," and otherwise became the hero of the evening. Most of the men there were Democrats, and it was estimated by Stewart and others that on that night, Wachter made at the lowest calculation 75 votes. Two days afterwards the election was held and Schwatka defeated by 57. It was the Schlegel's Hall ball that turned the trick.

Wachter was an ardent supporter of Mr. Malster, and led Malster's fight in the convention in 1897. It was in this year that the negro vote, prevented W. W. McIntire, who had made a fine

record in Congress, and was instrumental in the upbuilding of the Naval Academy, from being re-elected.

After taking his seat in the Senate, Wellington resigned as State Chairman, and Norman B. Scott succeeded him. Stephen R. Mason succeeded Stone as city chairman in this year. Wellington was in the saddle in the State and the Malster element in the city. Stone and his friends were not in control, although they were a formidable factor. The party was beginning to divide up in factions, and in the city the Malster administration and the "Kitchen Cabinet" that surrounded the Mayor had not commended itself to the independent Democrats who had placed it in power.

This was about the situation in the 1899 campaign, which resulted in the election of Hayes in the spring, and was followed up in the fall by the election of Smith, and a Democratic Legislature, thus restoring the Democracy to control in city and State.

## CHAPTER XXI.

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The Election of William Cabell Bruce as President of State Senate, and of George L. Wellington to the United States Senate.

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Probably the best-remembered incident of the session of the Legislature of 1896 was the election of William Cabell Bruce as President of the Senate. No more exciting election of a presiding officer has ever occurred in that body, nor has there been one which aroused so much bitterness and resentment.

The way of it was this. Mr. Bruce was elected to the Senate in 1894, having been put on the ticket by Mr. Rasin, whose idea at the time was to sidetrack the threatening storm by entering the Reform camp and making of its leaders Democratic candidates. In the fight of 1895 Bruce, refusing to be muzzled by his office, openly and vigorously opposed the Democratic ticket, denounced Gorman and Rasin and fought under the flag of Cowen and his friends.

When the smoke of the battle cleared away it was found that there had been elected to the Senate 13 regular Democrats, 12 regular Republicans and Mr. Bruce, who, repudiated by the Democrats, and unwilling to affiliate with the Republicans, was unclassified. Mr. Cowen and the interests behind him were exceedingly anxious to organize the Senate with a presiding officer and committees friendly to the independent element and hostile to the organization. Their candidate for President of the Senate was Bruce, and their plan was to tie things up in a deadlock with the Republican votes until the Democrats agreed to this. A day or so after the election Pinkney J. Bennett, a regular Democrat who had been elected from Carroll county, died. A special election was called to fill the vacancy, and Dr. Joshua W. Hering, the present State Comptroller, was nominated by the Democrats. There was

a tremendous fight, in which a large amount of money, said to have been furnished by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, was used. Mr. Cowen and those associated with him were convinced absolutely that, if elected, Dr. Hering would affiliate himself with the independents in the Senate and help elect Bruce President. It was in this campaign that Cowen went to Westminster and there made one of the greatest speeches of his life, charming and capturing a hostile audience of regular Democrats, who had learned to look upon him with hatred. Other independents, then closely associated personally and politically with Cowen, also stumped the county in behalf of Dr. Hering, and there is no doubt that the help of Robert Crain also had much to do with the election of Dr. Hering, working as the friend and agent of Cowen. The independent element contributed largely to his election.

After Dr. Hering had won the fight the Cowen element was jubilant. Confident of the support of Dr. Hering, they felt that their fight for Bruce as President was assured, and that they would have complete control of the Senate with a working majority. In fancied security they dwelt until a few days before the convening of the Legislature. Then it was a chance remark of Dr. Frank T. Shaw that put them "wise." Dr. Shaw came to Baltimore one day, and, stopping at the Carrollton Hotel, ran across a friend of Mr. Cowen, Robert Crain. Talking of the approach of the session, Dr. Shaw laughed and said he knew a joke on the reform element. "Don't you know," he said, "that they—Cowen and the others—have been counting right along on Dr. Hering. They think the doctor is going to be an independent when he gets to Annapolis. Well, the truth is he is as regular a Democrat as I am, and he is going along with the organization from the start."

This information somewhat startled Mr. Crain, who started a little quiet investigation and verified Dr. Shaw's statement. He then went to Mr. Cowen, in the Baltimore and Ohio Building. Mr. Cowen did not believe it—thought there must be a mistake. His informant insisted that there was no mistake, but went out and obtained still further verification. Then Mr. Cowen realized that if the regular Democrats got Mr. Bruce into a caucus they would have the necessary 14 votes to elect John Walter

Smith President of the Senate. Smith had been President of the preceding session, and was a friend of Gorman's and an organization man from the heart out. Mr. Cowen and his friends immediately got busy. Mr. Cowen saw Mr. Bruce, and when the caucus was held his agents were in Annapolis.

On the night of December 31 the regular Democrats caucused, and upon the motion of Charles C. Crothers, of Cecil, who had been the candidate for Attorney-General the year before, but still retained his seat in the Senate, John Walter Smith was unanimously nominated for the presidency. Bruce had some friends in the caucus who were ready to vote for him if given the chance. One of these was Ex-Governor E. E. Jackson, who at no period had any love for Mr. Smith. The 12 Republican Senators stood ready to cast their votes solidly for Bruce in open session, and it was realized that with Bruce's own vote the Senate would be deadlocked and could not be organized. It was further known by the organization leaders that there was the risk of one of the caucus breaking the deadlock by voting for Bruce, whereas there was no chance of a Republican or of Bruce voting for Smith.

Bruce, upon the advice of his friends, declined to go into the Democratic caucus. This rendered the organization Democrats helpless, and the further statement was made by Bruce's friends, professedly speaking for him, that if not chosen by the Democrats he would not refuse the Presidency if elected by Republican votes. Every possible effort was made, and every inducement offered to change Mr. Bruce and get him to come into the caucus. The Cowen cohorts stayed by his side and urged him to stand firm, finally induced him to go away from the scene of conflict about the State House, and to a room in the Maryland Hotel, where the regulars could not locate him.

Their inability to find Mr. Bruce or to plead with him to change his mind left the regular Democrats wild, and the situation was finally solved by John Walter Smith, who, for the good of the party, declared that rather than have the Senate deadlocked indefinitely or have the Republicans elect the presiding officer he would withdraw as an aspirant, and urge the selection of Mr. Bruce by the Democrats. In the morning this proposition was made and accepted by Mr. Bruce, who assured the regulars that

so far as the Committee assignments were concerned they would have no cause for regret—and they did not. When the Senate met Mr. Bruce was elected by a unanimous vote, every Democrat and every Republican voting for him. He made an ideal presiding officer, and while fair, was as Democratic in his committee assignments and rulings as any organization man could have been.

Next to the election of Bruce the United States Senatorial fight was, of course, the most important development. For days the session was in a turmoil over the struggle and the excitement ran high. It was Sydney E. Mudd, then Speaker of the House of Delegates, who finally led the break that resulted in the election of George L. Wellington. Wellington, with the prestige of a successful campaign as State Chairman, had announced his candidacy before the session met, and he and his friends were insisting upon the ignoring of the Eastern Shore law then in effect. Philips Lee Goldsborough was the strongest aspirant from the Eastern Shore, and while there were others in the field the fight was really between him and Wellington.

Lowndes declared himself the friend of Wellington, but at first asserted that he would not use his patronage to aid him or any other man. Wellington's friends, however, offset this by obtaining several early appointments of distinctly Wellington men. Stone and his friends in the Legislature were wholly for Wellington, and he had besides the Republican votes from Western Maryland. Benjamin A. Richmond and a big delegation of prominent Allegany county men came to Annapolis to aid Wellington in his fight, and Wellington came out in an interview in which he asserted he expected Lowndes to stand by him, and that he expected his friends to be recognized in the distribution of patronage.

Notwithstanding this, however, he had not the strength on the first showdown to call a caucus. An attempt was made to hold a caucus on January 14, but it failed. Wellington was then 13 votes short. At this stage General Gary was brought out as a compromise candidate, but promptly declined to enter the field, and on January 14 the first ballot taken in joint session resulted as follows:

Wellington, 25; Charles T. Westcott, 18; P. L. Goldsborough,

14; A. Lincoln Dryden, 7; Daniel M. Henry, 9; John Walter Smith, 21; James C. Milliken, 7; Sydney E. Mudd, 1; Henry R. Torbert, 1.

This futile ballot was followed by several others, in which complimentary votes were cast for a number of candidates, and no choice was made. Finally on January 19 there was a caucus, in which the complimentary business was cut out, and Wellington and Goldsborough each polled 26 votes. There followed another caucus the next night, at which Mudd, who had been suspected of himself entertaining the belief that the lightning might strike him, led the break to Wellington. His speech and vote caused a vigorous protest from his friend, George Dorsey Day, then Senator from Howard county. Mr. Mudd resented Mr. Day's remarks, and a personal conflict was avoided only by Mr. Day's withdrawal of his harsh words. It was in this caucus that A. Lincoln Dryden also broke away from his Eastern Shore friends, the wrench being so great that he first wept and then had an attack of vertigo. The Eastern Shore law was swept aside, and on the following day Wellington was elected. Wellington's friends were jubilant over their victory, and he was given a tremendous demonstration. The Eastern Shoremen were greatly depressed over the ignoring of the law giving them a Senator, but were even more greatly chagrined after the session when the discovery was made that the law had been repealed entirely without their knowing of it. A clause in the Reform League election law wiped this law from the statutes, and it was not found out until it was all over. Just how the clause got into the bill no one has ever explained. Everyone connected with the bill denied all knowledge of it.

There was another big fight at this session over the civil service bill introduced by Mr. Bruce. The Republicans in their platform had pledged themselves to the enactment of such a bill. Lowndes in his speeches throughout the State had declared himself in its favor, yet when the bill was presented every possible means was used by the Republicans in House and Senate to avoid passing it.

Finally the party had to be driven into redeeming this pledge through an aroused public sentiment that found expression in a big massmeeting held in Baltimore on February 16 at the old

Young Men's Christian Association building. Speeches were made at this meeting by John C. Rose, George R. Gaither, Harry M. Clabaugh, Robert P. Graham, Dr. Howard A. Kelly and William Keyser. The man who was most listened to, however, was Senator-elect Wellington, who came out vigorously insisting upon his party redeeming this pledge. The next day in the House of Delegates Bruce's bill was killed, but eventually a constitutional amendment submitting the question to the vote of the people was presented and passed. The amendment provided that "appointments in the civil service of the State in municipalities and counties of the State shall be made according to merit and fitness, to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which shall be competitive, except appointments which are subject to confirmation by the Senate, and the General Assembly shall pass all such laws as may be needed to more fully carry into effect the provisions of this section."

This was the first and only time the merit system had ever been submitted to a vote of the people of the State. At the next election—1897—this amendment was snowed under by the overwhelming majority of 69,000. The majority against it in the city was 36,000. It was contended at the time by the advocates of the merit system that the amendment did not have a fair chance, but that the heat of the campaign for and against Gorman was such as to obscure all other issues and the amendment was lost sight of.

As soon as the session of the 1896 Legislature was over the Republicans became active in the national campaign, and their convention for selection of delegates to the Chicago convention that nominated McKinley was held in April. Wellington, Gary, Malster and Graham were chosen as the delegates-at-large, and Wellington was at this time the accepted and recognized State leader.

The Democratic State Convention was held on June 10, and again a double delegation was selected to go to the national convention, as follows:

Delegates-at-Large—John E. Hurst, Richard M. Venable, Charles C. Homer, John P. Poe, Gen. John Gill, Edwin Warfield, Charles C. Crothers and Marion De Kalb Smith.

First District—Henry J. Lewis and John R. Pattison.

Second District—Frederick W. Von Kapff and Thomas H. Robinson.

Third District—John Hannibal and Louis M. Duvall.

Fourth District—James W. McElroy and William T. Biedler.

Fifth District—William B. Clagett and Dr. George H. Jones.

Sixth District—Spencer Watkins and Henry F. Wingert.

The campaign that followed—the first Bryan-McKinley campaign—was another rout for the Democrats. They lost the State by a majority of more than 30,000. They lost all six Congressmen, and the party seemed hopelessly split and demoralized. The silver wing, led by S. S. Field and other ardent Bryan men, sprang into existence, and the Bryan Democrats became a factor in the State that has ever since had to be considered. It was in this year that Blair Lee, now the State Senator from Montgomery county, and probably the closest personal friend Mr. Bryan has in Maryland, ran for Congress in the Sixth district. It was in this year that the Honest Money League came into existence, inspired by Cowen and Keyser and managed by S. Davies Warfield. It was in this fight that the Republicans had more money than they could well spend, while the Democrats for the first time in a generation found themselves hard up, with scarcely enough money to pay legitimate campaign expenses. The bulk of the money spent for the Republican candidates in Maryland was raised through the Honest Money League, and Mr. Warfield, although a large sum was placed in the State by the Republican National Committee. Gorman, although never an ardent Bryan man, took part in the campaign in Maryland, and spoke at a big meeting in Music Hall, now the Lyric. THE SUN again led the fight against the Democratic ticket, and thousands of Democrats bolted the party and solidly voted for the Republican candidates on the money issue.

The State was carried by the Republican candidates and the Republicans were jubilant. There then commenced the struggle among them over the Federal appointments and factionalism became rampant. Wellington was still in the saddle as the leader, and it was not long after the appointment of the big Federal places that Wellington had his first break with the late President McKinley. It came over the appointment as Consul to Leipsic

of B. H. Warner, Jr. This appointment was made by McKinley against the protest of Wellington, who had endorsed young Warner for a smaller consulship but did not consider him a proper man for the Leipsic post, and he construed it as a slight that a man from Maryland, particularly one from his district who was an enemy of his, should have been named without his sanction. He held the appointment up in the Senate, and it was at this time that he made his famous remark as to the necessity of seeing him before such appointments were made, thus earning for himself the name of "See Me First," which hung to him for a long time, and upon which the changes in the newspapers were rung. The story of the appointment of Gen. James A. Gary as Postmaster-General and of Stone as Collector of the Port has already been told, and at this time the Republicans were in control of every office in the State, including Federal and municipal places, with the exception of the State Senate, where the Democrats had a majority of one, counting Mr. Bruce.

This was the situation when the campaign of 1897 opened, the result of which was the retirement of Senator Gorman from the Senate for six years. The managers of that campaign look back now and say that \$2,000 more in one of the counties on the Eastern Shore would have prevented their defeat. As it was the margin by which the Republicans held the Legislature was an extremely slender one, and there was at one time a chance of the election of Senator Gorman, notwithstanding the Republican majority. From start to finish Mr. Gorman was made the issue in the fight. He led it himself and the management of the details of the campaign were in the hands of Murray Vandiver, who had succeeded Hattersly W. Talbott, of Montgomery county, as chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee. Every enemy Gorman had made in the State joined hands against him. THE SUN and THE NEWS denounced him unsparingly, and the party split in every ward and in every county. The Honest Money League, which had come into existence the year before to oppose Bryan, read into the fight the silver issue, and came out against Gorman, and the legislative ticket known to be pledged to him. The fight was one of extreme bitterness, and no stone was left unturned to bring about Gorman's defeat. Rasinism was kept

to the front in the city and Gormanism in the State by the opponents of the management. The Republican campaign was again financed largely by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and independent Democrats inimical to Mr. Gorman.

In the city the Democratic organization was well supplied with cash, but they could not have stemmed the tide there had they had a million dollars. For the first time in the recollection of any politician they had more money than could be spent, and in several wards after every purchasable vote had been obtained and after everything that money could do had been done there was still some left over.

Early in the fight the following committee was appointed to take charge of the campaign in the city: Col. John C. Legg, Conway W. Sams, James Bosley, Sigmund Trautmann, James B. Guyton, J. L. Murrill, Charles W. Heuisler, John Hannibal and William F. Porter. It was in this campaign that Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., first made his appearance in politics, attending the Howard county convention, at which his father was selected as one of the delegates to the State convention. The State convention was held on July 28, at Ford's, and Col. Buchanan Schley presided. Thomas A. Smith, of Caroline county, was nominated as the candidate for State Comptroller, with J. Frank Ford, of St. Mary's, as candidate for Clerk of the Court of Appeals. Senator Gorman was, himself, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, and Mr. John P. Poe wrote the platform, which was denounced by *THE SUN* and other opposition papers as a "straddle," because it ignored the financial issue and confined itself to State affairs.

The Republican State Convention was held at Ocean City, and there culminated the fight between the Malster element and the friends of Theodore Marburg. The story of the rise of Mr. Marburg's candidacy and the fight in the primaries has already been told. In the State convention Wellington made a big fight for the seating of the Marburg delegates and to sustain the Stone-Airey forces, staking his prestige as the party leader upon the outcome.

It was Sydney E. Mudd who defeated Wellington and the Stone-Airey combination in this convention. Mudd and his Southern Maryland delegates held the balance of power, and he

succeeded in making his friend, the late Dr. Washington G. Tuck, better known as "Bishop," chairman of the convention. With Tuck as the weapon, after a two days' session, during which there was much excitement, Mudd and the Malster forces triumphed, Wellington admitted his defeat and the Marburg boom collapsed. Malster entered the new primaries ordered by the convention, and was named without opposition. Wellington took the defeat seriously to heart, and threatened to retire from the chairmanship. He did not do so, however, but continued and made the fight in 1897. Philips Lee Goldsborough was the Republican candidate for State Comptroller in this campaign, succeeding Robert P. Graham, who shortly afterward became State Tax Commissioner.

Mudd's defeat of Wellington in the convention gave the Democrats a chance to charge him with being the real Republican boss and to assert that the Republican candidates for the Legislature were pledged to him for the Senate. This the Republican candidates denied in an open letter. One of the incidents of the campaign was the open letter which Senator Gorman addressed to Mr. Edwin F. Abell, the then head of THE SUN, in which he offered to let THE SUN take hold of the campaign and run it, which proposition THE SUN, of course, declined. It was in this campaign that the late Judge Charles E. Phelps was re-elected by 102,490 votes, having no opposition in either party, and that Judge George M. Sharp, Republican, defeated James P. Gorter, Democrat. Malster was the Republican candidate for Mayor, and again Henry Williams gallantly bore the Democratic banner, leading a perfectly hopeless fight in a way that endeared him to the hearts of Democrats throughout the State, and running way ahead of the rest of his ticket. Some of the more important Republican candidates who were elected that year were Edward M. Hoffman, for Sheriff; James H. Livingston, for Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas; Barreda Turner, for Clerk of Circuit Court; Henry J. Broening, for Clerk of the Criminal Court; Stephen R. Mason, for Register of Wills, and Frank H. Sloan, for Surveyor.

Some of the Democrats who went down in defeat in the city were Thomas F. McNulty, for Sheriff; Hiram Dudley, for Clerk of the Criminal Court; Thomas Morse, for Register of Wills;

William R. Brewer, for Clerk of the Circuit Court, and John Hannibal, for Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. That was the year in which Lewis Putzel defeated Dr. J. Pembroke Thom for the State Senate. Goldsborough was elected Comptroller by more than 8,000, and General Allen Rutherford went in with him as Clerk of the Court of Appeals.

## CHAPTER XXII.

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The Defeat of Senator Gorman in the Memorable Campaign of 1897, and the Election of Louis E. McComas by the Legislature.

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A study of the figures of the election of 1897 show that a hundred scattered votes would have given Gorman control of the Legislature and saved him from the only personal defeat of his career. Murray Vandiver, the present chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, has said since that \$2,000 more distributed in certain counties would have turned the trick.

The realization of this, however, came too late. Gorman thought he had the fight won, and he missed it by a narrow margin—almost a hair's breadth—for while the Republicans had a majority of 17 on joint ballot, there were a number of Republican members who were elected by majorities ranging from two to twenty. So close was it that one student of election figures has since asserted that 36 votes taken from the Republican legislative candidates in the counties and given to the Democratic candidates would have saved Gorman his seat in the Senate. It was a terrifically bitter fight, and its result knocked the last prop from under the Democratic ring, and it, with its leaders, went into a period of retirement. The party came back into power two years later, but Mr. Gorman was out of office for four years, and it is a big tribute to his leadership that in those years his grip upon the organization was never loosened, and there was never any doubt about his return to the Senate in 1902 in the event of a Democratic Legislature. As a matter of fact, he came fairly close to being elected in 1898, notwithstanding the Republican majority of 17, and the combination between 11 Malster Republicans and 50 regular Democrats was broken only at the last moment.

It has been said by men who were in it that that Legislature

was the most disgraceful of any since the Civil War. There was more buying and selling of votes, more open grafting and unclean politics than at any session that had gone before or that has followed. There were, of course, many honest and capable men of both parties in the House and Senate, but the proportion of those who were not honest was great and the corruption was brazen and shameless. Men who were members assert that the Speaker's desk was made an auction block and that legislation was bought and sold openly. Governor Lowndes appointed the Speaker of that House—Louis Schaefer—as State Fire Marshal, and then refused to issue his commission because of his record. Not long ago Schaefer was arrested in Baltimore on the charge of stealing jewelry.

The late "Charlie" Wilson was the reading clerk of the House, and the real leader of the Malster forces in the Legislature, and he it was who engineered the deal that made Schaefer Speaker.

The way of it was this: When, on January 5, the Republicans assembled in Annapolis to caucus for the selection of a Speaker and other officers of the House, it had already been determined by the State leaders to make Ashley M. Gould, of Montgomery county, the presiding officer of the House. Lowndes, Wellington and McComas had held a conference two days before in Baltimore, at which this had been determined. Gould was a McComas man, and both Wellington and Lowndes had declared for McComas for election to the United States Senate to succeed Gorman. Lowndes himself had been a candidate up to a certain point—but that is another story. Alexander Shaw was in the fight for the Senatorship, with the backing of the Malster element and the Baltimore American. Mudd, who was then in Congress, came out for McComas, and it was conceded that the election of a McComas man for Speaker would about settle the whole business. When the caucus convened the 11 Malster Republicans, under the leadership of "Charlie" Wilson and Stephen R. Mason, refused to enter. This stand threw the 38 other Republicans into a state of excitement, and although they nominated Gould and the desk officers in caucus, they were powerless to elect them in the House without the Malster element. In the meantime Murray Vandiver and Lloyd Wilkinson, who was then

the Democratic floor leader in the House, had held a conference with Senator Gorman in Washington, the result of which was that they came back to Annapolis and effected a hard and fast combination with the Malster element for the purpose of electing the Speaker. With 42 Democrats this combination gave the Malster element entire control of the House, and the Malster leaders could run things as they pleased. What the Democrats hoped to get out of the combination was the chance of electing Gorman to the Senate. For two days the thing dragged along, with no Speaker at all being chosen, although Schaefer had his speech of acceptance in his pocket from the start. Finally, on January 8, the Malster slate was put through. The regular Republicans the night before had reconvened their caucus and nominated Oscar Quinlan as Speaker, Gould having withdrawn. This was done with the hope of breaking the city forces away from Schaefer, but it failed to work, and the combination triumphed.

Immediately the Senatorial fight began to get hot. Malster became a candidate, but did not openly announce himself, and there were others in the field who thought there was a chance of the lightning striking them. McComas had from the start the most strength, being backed by the Governor and Wellington. Stone was likewise with him, but was in control of only a few votes in the city delegation. McComas had been in politics for a long time. Back about 1876 he was defeated for Congress by William Walsh. Two years later he was elected and floated along in Congress until 1888. Then the Force bill came up and McComas made himself obnoxious in Maryland by voting for it. He also made enemies by supporting the McKinley Tariff Bill, which increased the duty on binding twine. As Frederick and Washington counties are two of the greatest wheat-growing counties in the country, this alienated a lot of farmers in this section of the State, and when McComas came up in 1890 for re-election THE SUN led the fight against him. An effort was made to get William Walsh to run again. Mr. Walsh was then too old to make the fight, and recommended William McKaig, then Mayor of Cumberland. Mr. McKaig was induced to become the candidate and McComas was defeated.

President Harrison soon after this appointed him as a Federal

judge, and he practically retired from politics, taking no part in the campaigns that followed, until he loomed up in 1897 as an aspirant for the Senate. He had the friendship of McKinley and also of John K. Cowen and S. Davies Warfield. McKinley and Cowen were from the same Congressional district in Ohio and were friends. Lowndes was and had been, from the time he was elected Governor, anxious to go to the Senate. Mr. Cowen is credited with having induced him to get out of the field and support McComas by promising him a renomination as Governor, pledging the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to aid in his election, and holding out the promise that if re-elected he would succeed Wellington in the Senate. The conference at which Lowndes was induced to get out took place at the Maryland Club, and he soon afterward openly declared for McComas. McKinley was persuaded by Cowen to use his influence in behalf of McComas in a quiet way, but it was effective just the same. Notwithstanding all these powerful elements behind him McComas was chosen only after a seven days' fight, during which 10 ballots were taken. The first ballot was like this:

McComas, 34; Shaw, 11; Parran, 6; Shryock, 3; Barber, 6; Findlay, 2; Mullikin, 1; Lowndes, 1; Urner, 1; Gorman 42; Henry Page, 1.

William F. Applegarth was the only Democrat who did not vote for Gorman, casting his ballot for Henry Page.

While the fighting was going on the Malster Republicans were endeavoring to persuade the Democrats to join with them in electing Mr. Malster, while the Democratic leaders were equally anxious to have the Republicans come in and help elect Mr. Gorman. Once or twice the hand to elect Gorman had been framed up, but it was found impossible to carry it through. At one time Shaw's friends offered to have him withdraw from the fight if McComas, too, would get out. This proposition was promptly declined by McComas, and on January 24 a caucus was held, the Malster Republicans being finally induced to go in, and McComas was nominated. The next day, while the Legislature was in joint session, preparing to ballot, John Wirt Randall, of Anne Arundel county, in nominating McComas, made a particularly violent and abusive attack on Mr. Gorman. His language so angered and in-

flamed the Democrats of the Legislature that they could scarcely restrain themselves. Austin L. Crothers, John Walter Smith, Joshua W. Hering, William B. Clagett and other leading Democratic Senators were intensely indignant and, leaving their seats, rushed to the Republican side and avowed their willingness to join with the Malster Republicans in electing Mr. Malster Senator. The Malster people would have grabbed at this the day before, but it was too late now, as McComas had the votes and was elected.

Members of that Legislature, however, still remember the speech of Mr. Randall and there has rarely been more bitterness shown in the General Assembly than was created that day by him. At this session United States Senator John Walter Smith was the Democratic floor leader in the Senate, and Governor Crothers represented Cecil county, having succeeded his brother, the late Charles C. Crothers.

The complete personnel of the two branches was as follows:

#### THE SENATE

Allegany County—David E. Dick.

Anne Arundel—J. Wirt Randall.

Baltimore City—

First District—Gustavus A. Dobler.

Second District—Lewis Putzel.

Third District—Frank S. Strobridge.

Baltimore County—D. Hopper Emory.

Calvert—Charles L. Marsh.

Caroline—Robert M. Messick.

Cecil—Austin L. Crothers.

Charles—George T. C. Gray.

Carroll—Joshua W. Hering.

Dorchester—William F. Applegarth.

Frederick—Frank C. Norwood.

Garrett—Robert A. Ravenscroft.

Harford—Stevenson A. Williams.

Howard—George D. Day.

Kent—Charles T. Westcott.

Montgomery—William Veers Bouic, Jr.

- Prince George's—William B. Clagett.  
Somerset—A. Lincoln Dryden.  
St. Mary's—Washington Wilkinson.  
Talbot—Henry Clay Dodson.  
Worcester—John Walter Smith.  
Queen Anne's—Woodland P. Finley.  
Washington—Norman B. Scott, Jr.  
Wicomico—Elihu E. Jackson.  
Allegany—James Campbell, Mathew Rowe, John B. Robinette,  
John Leake, Charles H. Bandler.  
Anne Arundel—Bruner R. Anderson, B. Allen Welch, Peter  
Potee, Hugh R. Riley.  
Baltimore County—John S. Wilson, Edward S. W. Choate,  
Harry Malcolm, Henry W. Knoebel, John B. Foard, Joseph  
Sandman.  
Baltimore City—(First District)—Chauncey T. Scudder,  
Thomas A. Robinson, William F. Pentz, Emanuel H. Jacobi,  
Aquilla A. Baldwin, Frank H. Quast.  
(Second District)—Charles M. Short, W. Baltzell Jenkins, Ed-  
ward De Lacour, Oscar L. Quinlan, Upton S. Gosnell, Henry J.  
Halbert.  
(Third District)—Philip H. Lenderking, Edward F. Tolson,  
William J. James, Louis Schaefer, Benjamin L. Turner, Charles  
R. Schirm.  
Calvert—Abraham J. Williams, James C. Chaney.  
Caroline—Charles H. Todd, George T. Redden.  
Carroll—Milton M. Norris, James W. Taylor, Daniel J. Hes-  
son, Alpheus Stansbury.  
Cecil—John S. Wirt, Wilmer D. Thompson, John H. Jenness.  
Charles—James De B. Walbach, F. Albert Hicks.  
Dorchester—Alonzo L. Miles, Charles W. Hackett, Benjamin  
J. Linthicum.  
Frederick—John R. Rouzer, Thomas Hightman, E. Elmer  
Harn, J. Frank Butts, Harry E. Chapline.  
Garrett—George W. Moon, William H. Jacobs.  
Harford—Herman W. Hanson, T. Littleton Hanway, William  
M. Whiteford, Robert Seneca.  
Howard—E. Green Selby, Grosvenor Hanson.

Kent—Enoch G. Clark, George E. Noland.

Montgomery—Ashley M. Gould, James E. Ayton, George M. Anderson.

Prince George's—George S. Dove, Robinson White, Thomas M. Underwood.

Queen Anne's—William J. Price, Jr., Eugene L. Dudley, S. Collins Wright.

Somerset—Amos L. Dougherty, Isaac P. Dryden, Maurice N. Carew.

St. Mary's—Perry Hayden, John S. Jones.

Talbot—Hiram S. Hall, Levin H. Tull, Edward Woodall.

Washington—Lewis D. Syester, B. Abner Betts, Newton E. Funkhouser, Harvey S. Bomberger.

Wicomico—John E. Taylor, Minos A. Davis, John W. P. Insley

Worcester—Calvin B. Taylor, Lloyd Wilkinson, J. Edward White.

There were many exciting incidents at this session and some important work done. It was at this session that Mr. Mudd characterized a certain prominent and corrupt member of the Legislature as a man who "would not stay bought." The attempt to reorganize the police force of the city and take out of the hands of the Legislature the appointment of the Commissioners failed. Senator Crothers introduced the bill and succeeded in passing it through the Senate, but it was killed in the House. When the Legislature finally adjourned it was a welcome relief to the people of Maryland. The disgraceful doings of the session were denounced in all the newspapers and are still fresh in the minds of those who were there. It helped to give the Lowndes administration a black eye, although the Governor was in no way responsible for it and did his best to check and restrain the party people. The record of the Republican party at this session, together with the record of the Malster administration in the city, rendered it comparatively easy for the Democrats to sweep the city and state in the next election.

One thing more that the Legislature of 1898 did that must not be forgotten was the enactment of the Reform League Election law, which remained in force until 1901, when the present Election law was enacted at the special session of that year. The Re-

form League law, however, did not, as has been sometimes stated, give Maryland for the first time the Australian ballot. The first Australian ballot law for this State was enacted at the session of 1890, and its history forms an interesting story, as it has a connection with the Archer defalcation. The man who discovered and brought to light the defalcation of Mr. Archer was Douglas H. Thomas, president of the Merchants' National Bank. It was on December 19, 1888, that Mr. Archer borrowed \$3,000 from Mr. Thomas' bank, giving him as security Frederick City 4 per cent. bonds. This loan was renewed by Mr. Archer several times, but no suspicion that they were State bonds had entered the mind of Mr. Thomas. In the campaign of 1889 Mr. Thomas, with Judge William A. Fisher and Mr. John E. Hurst were named a committee by the Business Men's Democratic Association to prepare an Australian ballot law for introduction in the Legislature, there being an insistent demand for the enactment of such a law. About this time Mr. Thomas learned that Mr. Archer had obtained loans from several other local banks, depositing Treasury Relief of Frederick City bonds; and he knew, too, that when he examined the State Securities at the Safe Deposit Company he always went alone. At the request of the bank Mr. Archer repaid the loan of \$3,000. Mr. Thomas then, with his suspicions fully aroused started an investigation, with the result that he soon convinced himself that there had been a defalcation and that the bonds deposited by Mr. Archer with his bank were State bonds. In the meantime the Australian Ballot law prepared by the committee had been introduced in the Legislature. On February 25, 1890, Mr. Thomas sent for Gen. L. Victor Baughman, the State Comptroller, and laid before him what he knew concerning Mr. Archer. General Baughman was unable to believe it, but promised Mr. Thomas he would make an investigation, and at his request promised to give him the numbers of the Frederick City bonds, so they could be identified. General Baughman gave some intimation of what he had heard to Mr. Archer, and Mr. Archer threw him completely off the track by handing him his keys and telling him to go to the Safe Deposit Company and count the securities himself. Mr. Thomas heard nothing from General Baughman for some time, but continued his investigation, finally got the num-

bers of the bonds and found them to be identical. This gave him the absolute proof and he then, on March 22, again wrote Baughman, telling him the facts and stating that if the Comptroller did not take it up he felt it his duty to lay the whole matter before the Governor.

While this had been going on the Australian Ballot law prepared by the Business Men's Committee had been sidetracked in the Senate and a bill drawn by Mr. John P. Poe that was by no means satisfactory substituted. After General Baughman had communicated the facts given him by Mr. Thomas to the Governor and the exposure had come, he went to Mr. Thomas and told him "This thing is going to ruin the party."

"It will, of course," said Mr. Thomas, "hurt a great deal; but there is one thing you can do at Annapolis that will go a long way toward nullifying the effect of this. Why don't you get the people down there to drop this bill of Mr. Poe's and pass the Australian Ballot law prepared by the Business Men's Committee?"

General Baughman saw the force of this and upon his return to Annapolis exerted his efforts in that direction, with the result that the bill passed. It was signed by Governor Jackson and became a law. The bill was really drawn by Judge Fisher, but had it not been for the Archer defalcation and the necessity of doing something to counteract its effect it would not have passed until some years later.

The Reform League Election law, adopted at the session of 1898, was one of the pledges in the platform of the Republicans and its chief advocate was Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte. The credit of drawing it has largely been given to Mr. Roger W. Cull.

In the fall of 1898 the Democrats began to recover from their depressed condition and broke the solid Republican delegation to Congress by electing two Democrats—John Walter Smith and James W. Denny. The other four, however, continued to be Republicans and the party was a long way from on its feet. The Congressmen elected at this time were:

- First District—John Walter Smith.
- Second District—William B. Baker.
- Third District—Frank C. Wachter.
- Fourth District—James W. Denny.

Fifth District—Sydney E. Mudd.

Sixth District—George A. Pearre.

This brings the story up to the reorganization of the Democratic party and the election of Hayes and Smith.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

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### How Thomas G. Hayes Became Mayor and Features of the Hayes Administration.

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One day early in the spring of 1899, Mr Rasin sat in his office in the old Law Building. There were with him his son, Carroll W. Rasin, and his faithful follower, George N. Lewis. Suddenly "the Old Man" got up and put on his overcoat. "I'm going up to Governor Brown's office, Carroll," he said. "If Billy Porter comes in tell him to wait till I come back," and he walked out.

He was gone about two hours. When he returned, he found Mr. Porter, "Bob" Padgett, and several other of the "regulars" sitting around. Immediately the "Old Man" began to talk.

"This party is in bad shape, understand. Something has got to be done. I am going to keep hands off, and neither Gorman nor any one else is going to force me to bear the brunt of this fight. If I bring out a man for Mayor the newspapers will howl right away, 'Rasin, Rasin.' I'm getting tired of it. I'm going to wash my hands of the whole business. Let the rest of these fellows get their candidate. I'll support any Democrat who can win, but I'm not going to have this thing on my shoulders."

This and much more along the same line was absorbed by those to whom he spoke and, as Mr. Rasin knew, it would be taken out on the street and spread.

The newspapers the next morning contained a hot interview from ex-Governor Brown calling upon the Democrats of Baltimore to get together with a view of redeeming the city from Republican misrule and particularly appealing to the business interests to arouse to the importance of the issues. This interview was followed up by others, the idea of "a people's campaign" caught on and the Brown enthusiasm was contagious. Eventually it culminated in the organization on March 2, of the "Demo-

cratic Association of Baltimore City," with officers as follows: President—Frank Brown.

Vice-Presidents—Douglas H. Thomas, A. Leo Knott, James Bond.

Secretaries—John Pleasants, J. Clarence Bowerman.

Executive Committee—Charles D. Fisher, Skipwith Wilmer, John B. Biemiller, John Hinkley, F. H. M. Birckhead, George Blakistone, James R. Wheeler, George Savage, Frederick H. Gottlieb, Charles A. Webb, W. N. Smith, B. Maitland, Bartlett S. Johnston, Thomas S. Baer, William A. Boykin, Frank N. Hoen, Leigh Bonsal, Robert Crain, Josiah L. Blackwell, Sherlock Swann, Charles H. Dickey, Joseph Friedenwald, E. N. Rich, J. M. Marshall, John Pleasants, Olin Bryan, J. Seth Hopkins, W. Shepard Bryan, Archibald H. Taylor, Dr. Frank Slingluff, S. Johnson Poe, Conway W. Sams, C. Baker Clotworthy, W. Cabell Bruce, Alonzo L. Miles, Isaac Lobe Straus, Frederick M. Colston, Ralph Robinson, T. K. Stewart, A. N. Bastable, Edward Brady, Sr.

The association organized with 2,500 members. Brown was, of course, its inspiration and leader. He and Mr. Rasin were in constant communication and the closest touch. It was Rasin who pulled the strings and with hidden hand steered the association. What he wanted was a Mayoralty candidate who would win, and he realized that it would be impossible to elect any man known as a Rasin man or who, no matter how independent, was known to have been brought out and nominated by Rasin. If Henry Williams could not be elected under these circumstances then no one could and he had failed twice with him. After looking thoroughly over the field, Rasin came to the conclusion that the logical and best man to name would be Thomas G. Hayes. He felt that Hayes was Gorman's enemy and not his, and while he would have preferred almost any one else, he felt that it was necessary to nominate Hayes to win. He was a little afraid, however, that Gorman, with Hayes' denunciation of him in 1895 still fresh in his mind, might secretly oppose the ticket in the same effective manner in which he had aided in the defeat of the old judges in 1882. Accordingly, William F. Porter was sent over to Washington to talk with Senator Gorman about the situation.

After some desultory conversation, Mr. Gorman said, "It is up

to you people in the city to nominate a man who can win." "How about Hayes?" asked Mr. Porter.

"I have no objections to Hayes," was the reply. "Is he qualified under this new Charter?"

Mr. Porter assured him that he was and came back to Baltimore, reporting to Mr. Rasin. Mr. Rasin had a talk with Governor Brown that night and the next day the Democratic Association of Baltimore City began to sound sentiment as to a Mayoralty candidate. The association was co-operating with the regular party organization and its executive committee held joint meetings with the ward executives and the Committee of Seven. Mr. Rasin quietly sent the "word" down the line to the executives to report sentiment in their wards for Hayes. At the meetings of the joint committee, the executives reported an overwhelming Hayes sentiment all over the city.

Ex-Governor Brown and Mr. Hayes had a satisfactory talk, with the result that Hayes became a candidate in the primaries with the support of the Democratic Association. Gen. F. C. Latrobe was also a candidate in the primaries, and Rasin kept his hand so well concealed that it was found impossible to make him an issue in the fight. Through the influence of Governor Brown, Skipwith Wilmer was induced to accept the nomination for President of the Second Branch City Council and James H. Smith became the candidate for Comptroller. In addition to this an exceptionally strong Councilmanic ticket was put up, and from start to finish no stone was left unturned by the Democratic management to win.

This was the first spring election—the first trial of the new Charter, and the people, outside of the politicians, showed a more genuine interest in the fight than for many years. The Democrats had been out in the cold for four years, and were eager to regain control of the city government. The Malster administration, with its political pirates and negro office-holders, had pretty well disgusted the public, and the election was one-sided, the Democratic ticket sweeping the city by 12,000. This was the year George Stewart Brown broke into politics, being elected to the First Branch City Council from the Eleventh ward, and it was also in this campaign that Major Richard M. Venable was elected to the

Second Branch, where he served four years, his Councilmanic career being distinguished chiefly by the number and fury of his clashes with the Mayor.

The personnel of the City Council elected that year was as follows:

#### FIRST BRANCH.

- 1st Ward.—Albert M. Sproesser.
- 2nd Ward.—Thomas Sudler.
- 3rd Ward.—Lewis H. Miller.
- 4th Ward.—Charles R. Lamm.
- 5th Ward.—John H. Horst.
- 6th Ward.—Albert M. Touchton.
- 7th Ward.—George C. Miller.
- 8th Ward.—Andrew J. Preller.
- 9th Ward.—George P. Reinhart.
- 10th Ward.—F. X. Donnelly.
- 11th Ward.—John T. Couglar.
- 12th Ward.—W. Starr Gephart.
- 13th Ward.—George Stewart Brown.
- 14th Ward.—Hiram Watty.
- 15th Ward.—Bushrod M. Watts.
- 16th Ward.—Edward C. Wilson.
- 17th Ward.—John T. Ford.
- 18th Ward.—Evan H. Morgan.
- 19th Ward.—Joseph T. Steinacker.
- 20th Ward.—Frederick Megenhardt.
- 21st Ward.—Jacob D. Norris.
- 22nd Ward.—George W. Howser.
- 23rd Ward.—William Grecht.
- 24th Ward.—John P. Galvin.

#### SECOND BRANCH.

- First District.—Louis A. Dieter and John Hubert.
- Second District.—John Moylan and James B. Guyton.
- Third District.—Richard N. Venable and Moses N. Frank.

Fourth District.—Harry F. Lindeman and Dr. J. G. Linthicum.

The campaign in the city was managed by the Committee of Seven, which continued through several campaigns and was composed of James P. Gorter, chairman; William F. Porter, secretary, and Messrs. Henry Williams, Charles W. Field, James W. Denny, George Warfield, John B. Schwatka and William B. Burch. Every member of this committee later obtained a political position, although at the time of their appointment none of them was holding office. In the campaign the Democratic ticket had the support of the business element as well as the independent element, and the carefully laid plans of Mr. Rasin went through without a hitch. The State Democratic leaders lent what aid they could, all of them realizing that victory in the city in May meant victory in the State in November, and the result brought joy to Democrats in all sections of the State, who foresaw the triumphant return of their party to full power.

After the election of Hayes, however, joy turned to consternation in the Rasin camp, and as soon as the Green Bag was announced diplomatic relations were at once and forever severed between Hayes and Rasin. Rasin believed he had reason to think Hayes would give him what he considered his fair share of the city patronage. Hayes had been his personal counsel in the suit of the State against him for return of the interest money retained by him while Clerk of the Court, and Governor Brown had given him assurances that Hayes' attitude would be satisfactory to the organization on matters of appointments. The appointment of James P. Gorter as City Collector and of Edward D. Preston as Building Inspector were satisfactory to Mr. Rasin, but that was about all the comfort he could get.

Mr. Hayes started in to make a record for absolute independence and incidentally to build up on the City Hall patronage a Hayes machine. James T. Doyle, whom he named as Warden of the Jail, was his political agent, and it was Doyle who was at the head of the "Kitchen Cabinet" of the Hayes administration, other members of which included John H. Sirich, "Sol" Freburger and S. H. Randall.

Except for the two named, Mr. Hayes absolutely ignored Rasin

in the selection of heads of departments, and so far as the subordinate places were concerned, if any were given to Rasin men they were obtained under false pretenses. Morrison and Mahon and Dudley men were recognized, but no Rasin men were permitted to light about the City Hall. Hayes vigorously and frequently, publicly and privately, denounced Rasin, applying all manner of harsh epithets to him, and his very name being the signal for an outburst on his part. The Mayor deliberately cut himself loose from Rasin and the organization, and through Doyle began the establishment in each ward of a Hayes organization of his own, looking toward his own renomination and election. When Hayes became Mayor the City Hall from top to bottom was filled with Republicans placed in office during the administrations of Hooper and Malster. This gave to him many more appointments than would have come to a Democratic Mayor following a Democratic Mayor and enlarged his opportunity of building a Hayes machine.

Mr. Rasin saw the game Mr. Hayes was playing and he was wont to sit in his office and curse him fervently by the hour. It was about the only fun he had at that time. Without patronage or power to reward his friends, repudiated by the Mayor, and with every effort being made by the administration politicians to wean from him his friends and weaken him generally, it was remarkable that Rasin through the four years of Republican rule and the four years of the Hayes administration, in which he got even less, should have retained his dominance of the organization in the city. Yet there was at no time even a sign of his grip relaxing. More than this, he actually went into the Hayes camp and stole back from him the very men Hayes had given places in the belief that he had converted Rasin men into Hayes men.

A notable instance of this was the case of Daniel J. Loden, who has been police justice at the Western Police Station since 1902. Loden was given a place in the office of the Commissioner of Opening Streets by Mayor Hayes, and with his natural aptness for politics and his following in his ward he soon became a factor in the Hayes "Kitchen Cabinet." He was taken into the intimate circle with James T. Doyle, John H. Sirich, "Sol." Freburger and William P. Ryan, who was secretary to the Mayor and one of the

best men in the whole Hayes administration. He became one of the Hayes political advisers. Underneath he was a through and through Rasin man. He would spend the day at the City Hall working his friends into places in the Water Department, through Doyle, and at night would slip into Mr. Rasin's house, at the corner of Calvert and Chase streets, and there retail to the "Old Man" the inside of the Hayes administration, its political plans and movements.

It is needless to say that every place made under the Hayes administration by Loden—and they were numerous—went to a Rasin man. He honeycombed the Water Department with them and it was nearly two years before Hayes and Doyle awoke to the real situation so far as Loden was concerned.

The Hayes administration from the start was a tempestuous one. No one can deny that Hayes made a good Mayor—perhaps the best the city has ever had in some ways. He knew municipal affairs thoroughly and his method of dealing with municipal problems was straight, forceful and honest. He gave the city a good, business administration, which will always stand to his credit, and the personnel of his important appointments, except in one or two instances, was high. He played personal politics with his minor patronage and he surrounded himself by some men who did him little good, but he did not permit personal or any other sort of politics to interfere with the business of the city, and he held the reins of government with a firm, strong hand. His administration was somewhat marred by the continuous wrangling between him and the City Council and by his quarrels with various prominent citizens who called upon him at the City Hall. Among those whom he offended during his term of office might be mentioned Major Venable, George Stewart Brown and William Shepard Bryan, Jr.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

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### The Regaining of the State Through the Election of John Walter Smith as Governor.

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The efforts of the militant and tempestuous Mr. Hayes to put Mr. Rasin out of business by throwing his friends out of the City Hall, while mightily hurting the feelings of the city boss, did much to restore confidence in the Democratic party and bring back to the fold those Democrats who had bolted the ticket in 1895. It likewise strengthened the chances of the party in the fall campaign, which, of course, was the more vital fight. Rasin cursed violently about his treatment, and his followers clung loyally to him, but an anti-Rasin Mayor was a novelty to the people, and they appeared to like it. It made it all the more necessary for Mr. Rasin to regain through a Democrat Governor something of the prestige and power he had lost.

Early in June he and Senator Gorman had a conference in Baltimore. Edwin Warfield had announced his candidacy for the Gubernatorial nomination and John Walter Smith, of Worcester, was already in the field. The name of Judge William A. Fisher was again mentioned, and Rasin was inclined toward him, but found Mr. Gorman implacably against the Fisher idea. By the same token Rasin was equally set against Warfield, whom he had never trusted and for whom he felt a personal dislike. Four years before Rasin and Gorman were in accord as to the nomination of Isidor Rayner for Governor, and had Mr. Rayner not flung the flag of defiance in the faces of the bosses he would have been named. He scuttled his own ship exactly as did Judge Fisher when he made his public attack upon Gorman at the very time Barnes Compton was on his way to see him with instructions from Gorman to say he was acceptable to the organization and would be nominated. The Rayner incident of 1895 is told

by Harry Welles Rusk, who was present at a conference held between Gorman and Rasin in Gorman's room in the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York.

According to Mr. Rusk, Gorman said at this interview:

"Freeman, this will have to be a favorite-son convention. It looks as if the best thing to do would be in the end to nominate this fellow Rayner. You can handle him on appointments, and I think it had better be done. What we want, though, is plenty of candidates. String the convention along for two or three days. We do not want anything cut and dried about this convention, and these county people must stay over even if we have to pay their expenses."

Mr. Rasin agreed both as to the "favorite son" plan and the two or three days' convention, as well as to the advisability of nominating Rayner. When Mr. Rasin left New York, Mr. Rusk says, it was thoroughly understood that Rayner would be named. About a week after that Mr. Rayner hired the Lyric, and in the presence of a big multitude denounced the bosses and shouted his defiance. Mr. Gorman did not mind this part of it so much as he did the fact that the Rayner candidacy and the Rayner meeting were both apparently being conducted under the auspices of his old enemy, William Pinkney Whyte. This simply knocked Mr. Rayner's chances into a cocked hat, and as Mr. Rusk says, "he beat himself."

In 1899, however, Rayner was not in the Gubernatorial field, and it was Mr. Rasin who put him on the ticket for Attorney-General with the view of utilizing his speechmaking abilities in the campaign. Gorman made no protest, although he would have preferred John P. Poe. Smith and Warfield were allowed to contest in the primaries as if it were to be a free-for-all fight, and the leaders assumed an attitude of "hands off."

Up to this time Warfield had been more closely identified with Gorman, and was known as more of a Gorman man than Smith. Conditions were such as to render this a decided handicap, and this was one reason why Gorman was disposed to favor Smith instead of Warfield in this fight. Rasin did not show his hand until the last minute in the city, and the fight there between Smith and Warfield was a lively one. Both spoke at many meet-

ings in different parts of the city. In the end, however, the local organization swung in behind Smith, and he carried the city by about 5,000 majority. Warfield in the primaries polled nearly 13,000 votes, which showed a personal strength with the people that had to be reckoned with.

When Smith carried the city primaries his nomination was assured, but the sentiment for Warfield was so strong that the leaders deemed it absolutely necessary to have him and his following enthusiastically for the ticket to win. Mr. Warfield was disposed to feel somewhat aggrieved at the lining up of the organization against him, and felt that had it kept hands off he would have won the nomination. General L. Victor Baughman was the man who sat up late the night before the State Convention with Mr. Warfield at the Maryland Club, and finally induced him to agree to go into the convention and place John Walter Smith, his erstwhile opponent, in nomination. This Mr. Warfield did in a graceful and gracious speech. It has since been said—and is believed by many—that this action upon the part of Mr. Warfield did more than anything else toward securing him the nomination four years later. The convention was held on August 2 at Ford's Opera House. This ticket was nominated:

Governor—John Walter Smith.

Attorney-General—Isidor Rayner.

Comptroller—Joshua W. Hering.

With Rayner's oratorical powers and the abilities of Smith and Hering as campaigners, it was generally felt that a peculiarly strong ticket had been named, and it so proved later. Smith, at this time, was both a State Senator and a Congressman. He had been elected to the State Senate in 1897, but in 1898 was nominated for Congress by the Democrats of the First district to oppose Wilbur F. Jackson. He defeated Mr. Jackson, and took his seat in Congress on March 4, 1899. Before the winter session, however, he had been nominated and elected Governor, so that he was practically State Senator, Congressman and Governor all at one time.

The big feature of the Republican campaign of this year was the violent outbreak of Senator Wellington, who, feeling that

he had been tricked and "sold out," came forth openly predicting the defeat of his party, denouncing and repudiating Lowndes, and accusing John K. Cowen and S. Davies Warfield of having framed up a hand that would wreck the Republican party in the State. His resignation as chairman of the committee was a body blow to the Lowndes candidacy, as his ability and boldness as a leader are conceded even by his enemies. By those who were on the inside of that incident, it is said that Louis E. McComas was mainly responsible for the situation that brought about the break.

The Republican State Convention was held on September 6 at the Academy of Music, and this ticket named:

Governor—Lloyd Lowndes.

Attorney-General—John V. L. Findlay.

Comptroller—Phillips Lee Goldsborough.

Senator Wellington called the convention to order, and Mr. S. A. Williams, of Harford county, presided. Lowndes was placed in nomination in an eloquent speech by George A. Pearre, and was nominated by acclamation. Everything was as harmonious as could be desired, and the Republican clans seemed united. Then on September 20 a meeting of the State Central Committee was held, at which Congressman Mudd fathered a resolution appointing a special finance committee to handle the funds during the campaign and to perform various other functions. Senator Wellington, as chairman of the committee, bitterly resented these resolutions, construing them as a direct slap at him. He denounced McComas and Mudd, declared he had been "sold out," and that Lowndes was responsible. In a public statement he declared "the committee by adopting these resolutions insures the defeat of the Republican party. Instead of writing letters of acceptance the candidates had better write letters withdrawing from the ticket." Mr. Wellington followed this up the next day by refusing to serve as chairman of the committee, and by announcing that he would retire to private life, and not be a candidate to succeed himself in the Senate.

"I am done with Lowndes," he said. "I am done with him forever, and the result this fall will be sufficient chastisement to him and his fellow-conspirators. Warfield and Cowen are re-

sponsible for this situation. They framed the resolutions and have wrecked the Republican party."

It is said by those who know that Wellington saw in the resolutions the effort upon the part of McComas backed by John K. Cowen and S. Davies Warfield to oust him from the leadership of his party and to supplant him in the Senate with Lowndes. His denunciation of Lowndes, McComas and the others was a bombshell in the Republican ranks, and for a while created consternation. It took some weeks for the other leaders to recover, but when they did, Thomas J. Shryock was made chairman of the State Committee in place of Wellington. Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, came to Maryland at the earnest request of the local Republicans, and made a big speech at the Lyric, with Mr. Bonaparte and Attorney-General George R. Gaither. The Republicans fought hard, but the tide was against them. THE SUN, while not editorially supporting the Democratic ticket, gave the party candidates help in its news columns, and it was in this campaign that the negro issue was first raised in Maryland. THE SUN sent Judge T. J. C. Williams into Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore, from the counties of which he sent a series of strong letters showing the domination of the black vote in these sections. THE SUN christened these lower counties the "Black Belt," and the Democratic orators made effective use of the issue.

The business men of Baltimore came strongly to the aid of the ticket, and hundreds of the most prominent merchants and lawyers of the city, who had voted for Lowndes in 1895, openly declared for Smith. Colonel Smith made his own campaign, visiting every county in the State and proving himself a splendid campaigner. He made votes wherever he got a chance to meet the people, and as the campaign closed all doubt of his election disappeared. He carried the city by about 8,000 and the counties by about 6,000.

The Legislature elected with him was Democratic by an overwhelming majority. Its complete personnel was as follows:

## SENATE.

Allegany—David E. Dick, Republican.  
Anne Arundel—Elijah Williams, Democrat.  
Baltimore City—(First District)—Jacob M. Moses, Democrat.  
(Second District)—Lewis Putzel, Republican. (Third District)  
—Olin Bryan, Democrat.  
Baltimore County—John Hubner, Democrat.  
Caroline—Robert M. Messick, Republican.  
Calvert—Charles L. Marsh, Republican.  
Carroll—Johnzie E. Beasman, Democrat.  
Cecil—Austin L. Crothers, Democrat.  
Charles—George T. C. Gray, Republican.  
Dorchester—Wm. F. Applegarth, Democrat.  
Frederick—Jacob Rohrback, Democrat.  
Garrett—Robert A. Ravenscroft, Republican.  
Harford—Stevenson A. Williams, Republican.  
Howard—William B. Peter, Democrat.  
Kent—James B. Baker, Republican.  
Montgomery—William Viers Bouic, Jr., Democrat.  
Prince George's—William B. Clagett, Democrat.  
Queen Anne's—James E. Kirwan, Democrat.  
St. Mary's—Washington Wilkinson, Republican.  
Somerset—Lemuel E. P. Dennis, Republican.  
Talbot—Henry Clay Dodson, Republican.  
Washington—D. Abner Betts, Democrat.  
Wicomico—Marion V. Brewington, Democrat.  
Worcester—John P. Moore, Democrat.

## HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Allegany—Albert Frenzel, Joseph Radcliffe, William Close,  
J. H. Critchfield, T. Earl Graff, Republicans.  
Anne Arundel—Milton Ditty, J. Frank Krems, Byron Phelps,  
James D. Feldmeyer, Republicans.  
Baltimore City—(First Legislative District)—Harold B.  
Scrimger, Christopher J. Dunn, Frank J. Gately, George L.  
Brown, August C. Mencke, Forrest Bramble, Democrats.

(Second Legislative District)—A. Leo Knott, Martin Leh-mayer, F. C. Latrobe, John L. Sanford, Francis P. Curtis, William Duncan, Democrats.

(Third Legislative District)—O. C. Martenet, Charles E. Sieg-mund, William L. Cover, A. J. Robinson, John Real, William A. Johnson, Democrats.

Baltimore County—E. S. W. Choate, Redmond C. Stewart, George W. Truitt, Henry P. Mann, Joseph Sandman, Joseph Jeffers, Democrats.

Calvert—Oliver D. Simmons, Samuel L. Gibson, Republicans.

Caroline—Calvin Satterfield, J. Frank Lednum, Democrats.

Carroll—E. M. Anderson, Milton M. Norris, S. H. Hoffacker, Michael E. Walsh, Democrats.

Cecil—Frank H. Mackie, Samuel H. Keys, John H. Kimble, Democrats.

Charles—J. DeB. Walbach, S. S. Lancaster, Republicans.

Dorchester—Francis P. Corkran, B. J. Linthicum, Democrats; Joseph B. Andrews, Republican.

Frederick—Simeon L. Bast, Daniel P. Buckey, Charles C. Waters, Samuel R. Brown, William H. Lakin, Democrats.

Garrett—M. Wilson, Patrick E. Finzell, Republicans.

Harford—Noble L. Mitchell, Howard Proctor, William B. Hopkins, James W. Foster, Democrats.

Howard—Humphrey D. Wolfe, Grosvenor Hanson, Democ-rats.

Kent—A. M. Kendall, C. Preston Norris, Republicans.

Montgomery—Oliver H. P. Clark, James E. Deets, Josiah J. Hutton, Democrats.

Prince George's—George B. Merrick, Clay D. Perkins, John B. Contee, Republicans.

Queen Anne's—Eugene L. Dudley, John T. Norman, William D. Smith, Democrats.

Somerset—William E. Ward, Walter W. Dryden, Henry C. Disharoon, Republicans.

St. Mary's—Francis V. King, John R. Garner, Democrats.

Talbot—William Collins, William C. Dudley, William Willis, Democrats.

Washington—Albert J. Long, Daniel H. Staley, Democrats;

Charles G. Biggs, Joseph W. Wolfinger, Republicans.

Wicomico—Jonathan H. Walker, Thomas S. Roberts, Isaac B. Bennett, Democrats.

Worcester—Lloyd Wilkinson, Henry J. Anderson, Charles F. Truitt, Democrats.

Lloyd Wilkinson was Speaker of the House, John Hubner President of the Senate, and Austin L. Crothers chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and the Democratic floor leader. It was at this session that an additional State Senator and six additional members of the House were given to Baltimore city. A constitutional amendment creating a fourth legislative district was passed by the Legislature and ratified by the people at the election of 1901. In the House were a number of strong men like A. Leo Knott, Gen. F. C. Latrobe, Martin Lehmayr and others who helped to make the city delegation of that session more forceful than it has been since. Credit should be given Governor Smith for the Police Reorganization bill that went through this Legislature. At the two preceding sessions it had failed and the efforts of the politicians to prevent the appointment of the commissioners from being taken out of the hands of the Legislature and lodged with the Governor were successful. It was due to Smith's influence that this bill went through in 1900, and that an end was brought to the political dickering and log pulling that had for years characterized the selection of the Police Board.

Soon after Smith was elected Rasin began to have trouble with him over appointments, although not in the same way he had with Hayes. There was no open hostility between them, and Smith stood by the organization in the city as well as the State. The trouble, as Rasin saw it, was that Smith insisted upon making personal selections for big city offices which, in Mr. Rasin's judgment, he should have left entirely in his hands. Governor Smith did not see it that way, and his boards in the city grieved the "Old Man" greatly. The difference between Smith and Hayes was that Smith gave Rasin something but not everything, while Hayes gave him nothing at all. Mr. Rasin dealt differently with the two men. Hayes he openly cursed and reviled. His grievance against Smith he buried deep in his heart, determined

to even up matters when the time came, but so long as Smith was Governor to get all he could.

Governor Smith's first appointment was that of Wilfred Bate-man, of Talbot county, as Secretary of State. No better Demo-crat, more loyal friend or more lovable man could have been found. He popularized the office to an unusual extent, and when he died was mourned by friends all over Maryland.

It was in the Police and Liquor License Boards, however, that Mr. Rasin was chiefly disappointed. Governor Smith made his personal friend from Worcester county, George M. Upshur, president of the Police Board, and he appointed John T. Morris as the second Democrat, chiefly because of Senator Gorman, whose friend he was. Colonel Morris was not antagonistic to Mr. Rasin, but had always been closer to Gorman, and Rasin felt that he had not been treated properly inasmuch as neither Democrat on the board was his own selection. On the Liquor License Board Max Ways was appointed by Governor Smith, when Mr. Rasin would have preferred someone else. Mr. Ways had always been a political friend of John J. Mahon. At this time Mr. Rasin and Mr. Mahon were distinctly on the "outs," and were engaged in calling each other various sorts of uncomplimentary things. A powerful influence in bringing about the selection of Mr. Ways was Mr. W. Lee Carey, of Worcester county, and Rasin felt that he had had very little to do with it. Then Lloyd Wilkinson, of Worcester, was made Insurance Com-missioner and Thomas A. Smith, of Caroline county, was named as Labor Statistician. Mr. Smith immediately named as his dep-uty Jacob G. Schonfarber, a follower of J. Frank Morrison, and a decidedly anti-Rasin man. Robert M. Price, of Queen Anne's county, became Fire Marshal, and E. Stanley Toadvin Land Commissioner.

Most of the police magistrates and coroners were named upon the direct recommendation of Mr. Rasin, but in looking over the field the "Old Man" felt that he had been given the little end of the stick and he became very "sore." He kept upon pleasant terms with Smith until the end of his term, getting what he could in the way of patronage and improving his hand very much when the middle of the term appointments were made, but those who

knew him well know that it was that first batch of appointments that really hurt him, and they know, too, that he carried this grievance for four years until he could satisfy himself by knocking Smith out of the Senatorship.

Those who saw much of him during the Smith administration heard him many times speak of there being "too much Worcester county" in the city appointments, and have heard him intimate that Smith was trying to build up a machine in the city. It did not lessen the "Old Man's" grudge any, either, when he was told of an alleged remark made by Governor Smith to the effect that Rasin had altogether too much power in the city and that it was time to curb him a little.

## CHAPTER XXV.

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### Maryland's Part in the Exciting Campaign of 1900.

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Few hotter or more exciting campaigns have occurred in Maryland than the one that followed the Legislature of 1900, in which Bryan was for the second time a candidate for the Presidency. Although the fight was one-sided in the end, and the Republicans swept the State, electing six Congressmen and all of the electors, it was money that told the tale, and if ever the State was bought up it was in this fight.

It was in this campaign that Senator George L. Wellington had his famous break with McKinley, and electrified the country by coming out for Bryan. It was just prior to this fight that he called Senator McComas a liar on the floor of the Senate, and his attitude in taking the stump for Bryan, not only in Maryland, but in other States, aroused the most intense feeling. It was in this fight that THE SUN supported Mr. Bryan and up to within two weeks of the election had the fight won. Then it was that the late Marcus A. Hanna sent thousands of dollars into the State, which, with the other thousands raised by the Honest Money League, engineered by S. Davies Warfield, John K. Cowen, William Keyser and others simply swamped the Democrats. The Democrats were absolutely without funds, and the whole purchasable vote went to the other side. In spite of this, however, Bryan reduced McKinley's majority in Maryland of 1896 something like 18,000. In no campaign, either before or since, have the Republicans seen or handled as large a campaign fund as they had in this campaign. They simply had all the money they could spend, and then some.

So far as Senator Wellington is concerned, there is no shadow of a doubt that he was right in his controversy with McKinley, although this, perhaps, did not justify the violence of his antagonism. Wellington was an extreme anti-imperialist and was strongly opposed to the annexation of the Philippines. He talked with McKinley, and the President agreed with his views and emphatically told him he was opposed to annexation. Everyone

in Washington who knew McKinley well at the time knew that this was his attitude, and no one doubts that he expressed himself that way to Senator Wellington. Some time after the interview McKinley made his trip West, and there encountered the sentiment favorable to annexation. In the West they were wild about it, and they so impressed the President that when he came back to Washington he was an annexationist, and so announced himself. Wellington immediately publicly recalled that the President had told him he was unalterably opposed to the taking in of the Philippines, and the President promptly denied that he had ever said so. This infuriated Mr. Wellington, who asserted publicly that the President had deceived him. Immediately diplomatic relations between the Maryland Senator and the White House ceased and Mr. Wellington became exceedingly bitter.

It was on September 5, in Cumberland, that Wellington came publicly out for Bryan, speaking there with Bryan at a Democratic meeting and basing his support upon his belief in "anti-imperialism," which the Democratic party had made its paramount issue. Later he spoke at the Lyric in Baltimore, and few persons who heard that speech will forget it. It took courage of a high order for Mr. Wellington to face that great audience, in which there were many bitterly hostile Republicans, who regarded him as but one degree removed from Benedict Arnold in the magnitude of his treachery. It was a magnificent speech, an argument splendidly prepared and delivered with an eloquence that swept the vast crowd off its feet and effectually silenced the hissing of the Republicans who had gathered to interrupt.

By McComas, Stone, Goldsborough, Gaither and the other Republican leaders Wellington was bitterly denounced. He was ignominiously expelled from the Union League Club, and his name greeted with hisses at all Republican meetings. This did not bother Mr. Wellington very much, however, and he threw himself heart and soul into the campaign, speaking in a dozen different States and as far west as Nebraska. And then came the avalanche and it buried Mr. Wellington politically. At least, he has not since figured in either state or national politics, although he still is a considerable factor in Allegany county, and the fear of his returning to the State arena is never entirely absent from

the present organization Republican managers. The truth is most of them are desperately afraid of Wellington, who is one of the few men in the party in Maryland with both the brains and the nerve to make a real fight in the party.

When the preliminary campaign began in Maryland the real Bryan people—S. S. Field and the rest—made a desperate effort to gain control of the State convention, or at least to force an indorsement of the Chicago platform. They went into the city primaries for the selection of delegates to the State convention, but were easily outgeneraled by Mr. Rasin, who elected his own delegation without trouble. Senator Gorman came to the city and conceded Bryan's nomination, but intimated that it would be better for the delegation to go out to Kansas City uninstructed. The convention was held at Ford's Opera House on June 5th, and Dr. George Wells, of Anne Arundel county, with one or two others, made a hot fight for instructions to the delegates, but the Gorman-Rasin control was complete and the Chicago platform was ignored, the convention likewise by an overwhelming majority refusing to tie the hands of the delegates. The rabid Bryan men crowded the gallery and made a tremendous amount of noise, but they had no votes. The delegates selected were as follows:

Delegates at Large—John Walter Smith, Murray Vandiver, Joshua W. Miles, L. Victor Baughman.

District Delegates:

First—J. Benjamin Brown, Jefferson D. Staton.

Second—B. Frank Crouse, Charles E. Fendall.

Third—Harry Rountree, E. J. Chaisty.

Fourth—A. Leo Knott, Martin Lehmayr.

Fifth—J. Frank Smith, Joseph S. Wilson.

Sixth—Blair Lee, John Keating.

The electors were named as follows:

Electors at Large—John Prentiss Poe, Gilmor S. Hamill.

District Electors:

First—P. B. Hopper.

Second—Joseph H. Steele.

Third—John S. Hebb.

Fourth—Albert S. J. Owens.

Fifth—Mason G. Elzey.

Sixth—Thomas A. Poffenberger.

Those who went from Maryland to the national convention were largely anti-Bryan, but the Bryan sentiment there overwhelmed them, and the anti-Bryanites were simply lost in the shuffle. After the nomination Governor Smith, General Baughman and others gave interviews in support of Bryan, and the leaders returned home determined to make the best fight possible, but without any real heart for the contest. When THE SUN came out for the Democratic ticket, however, the silver lining to the clouds began to make itself apparent to the leaders, and they started in to make a genuine campaign. This was John K. Cowen's last political fight in Maryland. He was—in this as in all the others in which he took part—the brains of the Republican campaign. He raised their money and directed their policy and personally led the battle. As the real force behind the Honest Money League, it was made a tremendous factor, and Cowen's influence gathered to the Republican standard many men of character and force in the community who were natural Democrats, and who would have remained with their party had it not been for him. The last speech of his life was made a few days before the election in the Lyric. The meeting was not a great success and a large part of the audience was composed of employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and men from the Maryland Steel Company, but the speech was a splendid effort.

He dealt largely with THE SUN, and was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic Bryan men who had crept into the meeting. Each interruption Mr. Cowen turned to his advantage, replying to questions so quickly and completely as to confound the questioner and compel the applause of the crowd. Mr. Cowen never took any interest in politics after this fight, but in this one he had his whole heart and soul. Nothing was left undone to carry the State for McKinley, and the financial element, which regarded the possibility of Bryan's election as a calamity, were terribly frightened up to the time Mark Hanna sent in the "dough."

Senator McComas was the ostensible head of the Republican

campaign in Maryland at this time. Phillips Lee Goldsborough was the State chairman. Stone and Wachter were then fast friends. Mudd was just in the zenith of his political career, and "Uncle Bill" Jackson was being groomed and urged by the Republican leaders as a candidate for Congress, it being considered desirable to keep Mr. Jackson interested because of his extreme liberality in the expenditure of money in a campaign where he had a personal stake. Down in the First district the Democrats had, at the instance of Governor Smith, nominated John P. Moore, of Worcester county, as the Congressional candidate, Ex-Gov. Elihu E. Jackson would have liked to have had the nomination at the time, and his failure to get it was the cause of the political antagonism displayed by him toward Governor Smith during the rest of his life. Some say, too, that the break between Joshua W. Miles and Governor Smith dates from this convention. Governor Smith stood by Senator Moore out of friendship and forced his nomination over the heads of some reluctant delegates. It was at this convention that Secretary of State Wilfred Bateman, of Talbot county, crossed the Chesapeake Bay in an open boat at night from Annapolis to Claiborne in order to get to Ocean City in time for the convention so that he might aid Governor Smith in his fight to make Moore.

It was in this campaign, too, that Isaac Lobe Straus made his memorable primary fight against Congressman J. F. C. Talbott for the Democratic nomination in the Second district. Mr. Straus chiefly confined his fight to the city wards in the district, and made a vigorous primary campaign. But the link between Mr. Rasin and Mr. Talbott was too strong, and the result was defeat for Mr. Straus.

All of the Republican candidates for Congress were elected. In every district the Republican committee had from three to five times as much money as the Democratic committee, and the fight, even in the strongest Democratic districts, was somewhat one-sided. There was no Corrupt Practices act then in force, and the party with the most money corralled the purchasable vote, which is large in every district in the State. The Democrats would have bought the votes just as quickly had they had the wherewithal, but they did not.



JOHN WALTER SMITH.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

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### Why Governor Smith Called the Extra Session of 1901—The First Step Toward Gorman's Return to the Senate.

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The political feature of the Smith administration was the special session of the Legislature of 1901. Conceived in the fertile brain of Senator A. P. Gorman, it was the first step toward his return to the United States Senate after a four-year period of enforced retirement.

Likewise, it was the first move toward the plan for the disfranchisement of the negro voter in Maryland, and the elimination of the ignorant and vicious negro as a political factor. It was a well-laid plan, well thought out and executed with rare political genius. The Democratic forces in the Legislature were just sufficient to put the program through. There was not a single vote to spare—not the smallest margin for accidents. Had one man faltered the whole fabric would have tumbled to the ground and calamitous results for the party would have followed. In its boldness and daring the move stands unequaled in the history of Maryland politics, and the unwavering firmness with which he proceeded in the face of danger is a tribute to the courage and ability of Mr. Gorman, which even his enemies concede. There were critical moments during the fight when had there been one weak-kneed or dishonest man in the ranks of the 14 Democratic State Senators he could have had a financial reward almost unbelievable. The Republicans fought bitterly and hard, and stood ready and willing to go to any length to break the solidity of the other side. But every man stood true, and the whole plan went through as desired by Gorman.

While the idea itself was Mr. Gorman's, its success was due more to Governor Smith than to him. In fact, the whole scheme revolved around the Governor. Without him no move could

have been made, and had it not been for him after the session was called it would have failed in its purpose. The three big results of the session were:

First—To give the State the present Election law, which no intelligent man can deny is an improvement over the old style of emblem voting.

Second—To rectify the frauds of the Federal census and accurately count the population of the State.

Third—To enact an enabling act under which the present sewerage system in Baltimore is now being constructed.

Here was the situation when the call was issued: Chiefly through Francis V. King, of St. Mary's county, gross and outrageous frauds in the Federal census had been brought to light. It was shown that in the Southern Maryland counties of Charles, St. Mary's and Calvert dozens of dead men and women had been counted, hundreds of names taken from tombstones and the lists padded enormously. The result of this, had it stood, would have been to increase the representation in the Legislature of these lower counties, thus greatly enhancing the political power of Sydney E. Mudd, the Republican boss of that section of the State, who was also responsible for the appointment of the enumerators, like Joseph Ching and others, who had falsified the returns. So violent was the outcry against these frauds that the whole State sat up and took notice, and some of Mr. Mudd's friends—among them Ching—landed in the penitentiary. Also it took considerable maneuvering upon the part of Mr. Mudd to avoid serious trouble for himself.

Then there was the demand in Baltimore for a sewerage system. The tempestuous Mr. Hayes—then Mayor—had failed to get through an enabling act in 1900 and the people were aroused to the absolute need of Baltimore for sewers. And about this time a few advanced and thoughtful men—friends of Senator Gorman—had come out in advocacy of a more enlightened ballot law that would minimize automatic voting and put some premium on intelligence.

The first talk of an extra session came as a result of a conference held in Baltimore, at which were present Senator Gorman, Governor Smith, Mayor Hayes, Gen. L. Victor Baughman, Mur-

ray Vandiver, Joshua W. Miles and one or two others. At this conference Hayes urged an extra session because of the necessity of a sewerage system. Gorman, Baughman and the others urged it because of the census frauds and the needs of a new ballot law. On Thursday, January 24, Governor Smith indicated that he felt inclined to convene the Legislature in session for these purposes, but desired to sound public sentiment upon the proposition. Ex-Gov. Frank Brown, Frank A. Furst, T. Wallis Blakistone and many other leading men came out in interviews urging the Governor to make the call. It was known at this time that it had been decided to have an extra session, and daily the call was expected. Day after day passed, however, and the Governor failed to issue the call. The delay was inexplicable. No one could understand it. Governor Smith refused to give reasons, and the whole town was given over to speculation.

Finally the reason came out. There were in all but 15 Democratic State Senators. Senator Clagett, of Prince George's county, was ill in a sanatorium, and this reduced the number to the bare Constitutional majority of 14. In February it became known that John P. Moore, Senator from Worcester county, was ill at the Hopkins. Without Mr. Moore the Democrats had only 13 Senators—not enough to enact any bill. Consequently, no call could be issued until it was known that Senator Moore would be able to be in his seat. Senator Moore was finally found by a reporter of THE SUN in the Johns Hopkins Hospital, and there gave assurances of his ability to attend the session and of his intention of co-operating with his party. This ended the suspense, and on February 13 Governor Smith issued the call for March 6.

Immediately the Republicans went "up in the air." Upon the heads of both Smith and Gorman were heaped unlimited abuse and vituperation, and every effort was made by not only Republicans but by the Democratic enemies of Mr. Gorman to obscure the real purposes of the session and attribute the whole scheme to the sinister motive of sending Mr. Gorman back to the Senate. Attempts to side-track the census fraud charges were made, and the State resounded with the howls of the distressed Republicans.

Undaunted by this Gorman went straight ahead with his plans. An instance of his attitude is given in a remark made by him one

day just before the session convened to Samuel K. Dennis, secretary for Governor Smith. Gorman was at the Rennert in his room upstairs, where he had been holding conferences throughout the day, when Mr. Dennis came in. Mr. Gorman was lying on a lounge with one of his neuralgic headaches. "Well, Sammy," he said, "what is the news today? What do they say about things, anyhow?"

"Well, Senator," said Mr. Dennis, "the Republicans are kicking up a lot of fuss about the proposed State census."

"They are?" said Mr. Gorman. "Why, what do they see in that to object to?"

"They say," said Mr. Dennis, "that it ought not to be taken by Democrats; that it ought to be a bipartisan census."

"Well," said the Senator, "they took one census, didn't they? Now, then, we will take one. That is bipartisan, isn't it?"

About the first of March Senator Gorman called the 14 Democratic State Senators into conference at the Rennert. To meet them he had Mr. John P. Poe, who had prepared a draft of the proposed new election law; General Baughman, Governor Smith, Chairman Vandiver and others. He gave them a luncheon in one of the private dining-rooms, and then took them across to another room, where the new law was submitted to them and explained by Mr. Poe. Governor Crothers was one of these Senators, and at the conference he expressed himself as opposed to the new law, although willing to stand with the rest of his party if it were decided upon. The bill was approved in its entirety, and Senator Gorman requested those present to regard all that had transpired as confidential, and to say nothing that could get into the newspapers. The conference was held at night and the next morning the newspapers published not only the full text of the proposed law, but an almost verbatim account of what each Senator had said at the conference.

The extra session convened on March 6, electing Ferdinand C. Latrobe Speaker of the House, and John Hubner President of the Senate. Robert J. Padgett became sergeant-at-arms of the House of Delegates at the request of Mr. Rasin, and the other officials were:

Reading Clerk—Walter R. Townsend.

Chief Clerk—Benjamin L. Smith, of Dorchester.

Journal Clerk—Frederick Sasser, of Prince George's county.  
The Senate officials included:

Secretary—Alfred S. Ritter, of Frederick county.

Reading Clerk—Albert J. Almoney, of Montgomery.

Journal Clerk—Richard Worthington, of Baltimore city.

Sergeant-at-Arms—Sydney P. Gump, of Queen Anne's county.

In the message sent by him to the Legislature upon its assembling Governor Smith clearly outlined its scope as follows:

"My official proclamation of February 13 ulto. briefly mentioned the grounds upon which I felt it to be my duty to call you to meet in special session and indicated the subjects upon which you are desired to act.

"But it is manifestly proper that I should now submit a more particular statement and recommendation of the three most important measures which seem to me to demand your consideration and for the enactment of which I felt constrained by my sense of duty to exercise the power conferred and discharge the duty imposed upon me by the Constitution to issue the call for this extra session.

"These three measures are:

"1. An act providing for an enumeration of our population under State authority.

"2. An act to better preserve the purity of our elections by amendments in some vital particulars of our present law regulating the registration of voters and the manner of holding elections.

"3. An enabling act conferring upon the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore full and adequate authority to provide by ordinance for the establishment without delay of a proper sewerage system.

"All of these three measures are urgent. Delay in the enactment of any one of them is dangerous, and may be productive of injurious consequences.

"Any one of them might well justify the expense and inconvenience of a special session. The combined weight of them all was irresistible and left no doubt in my mind that the General

Assembly should have an immediate opportunity to pass upon them."

Senator Crothers was the Democratic leader in the Senate and Lloyd Wilkinson in the House. From the beginning almost until the end Senator Gorman stayed in Annapolis, being a guest of the Governor at the Executive Mansion, and personally directed the fight through its most critical periods. Also there gathered at Annapolis county, State and city leaders from every section, and the Executive Mansion was their headquarters. In the House, where the Democratic margin was larger than it was in the Senate, there were several Democratic insurgents, among them Garner, of St. Mary's county; John Waller, of Wicomico, and John L. Sanford, of Baltimore city, all of whom protested against the election law. The bill passed the House by a vote of 56 to 28—five Democrats voting against it—Garner, of St. Mary's; Patterson, of Dorchester; Keys, of Cecil; Buckey and Laken, of Frederick.

The main fight was in the Senate, where the Democrats had just 14 members—not one more than necessary to pass their election bill. The fight of the Republicans was splendidly led by S. A. Williams, of Harford county, but wild harangues were made by David E. Dick and other Republican Senators, some of whom talked for three and four hours. Senator Lewis Putzel ably seconded Mr. Williams' efforts to beat the bill, and there were several times when it looked as if they would be successful. The doubtful factor on the Democratic side was State Senator W. F. Applegarth, of Dorchester. He had been at the preliminary caucuses and was apparently straight for the bill, but not one of the leaders, from Senator Gorman down, trusted him. Up to the last moment there was a feeling of apprehension as to what Senator Applegarth might do, and when on the final passage of the bill in the Senate he arose to explain his vote on the measure the betting was about even as to whether he would vote for or against. When he finally cast his ballot in favor of the bill at the close of a long-winded speech, in which he had given no indication up to the last word, the Democratic leaders heaved a tremendous sigh of relief. Their fight had been won.

The sewerage bill went through later as did the measure pro-

viding for a new census of Maryland to be taken by the State authorities.

Before these things were accomplished, however, there were some exciting times in Annapolis. The Republican filibuster was smothered, and then a revolt upon the part of some Democrats like Olin Bryan broke out and had to be quenched. Olin Bryan insisted that a primary election law be passed, and the leaders declined. There was much fuss over this, as well as over the phraseology of the Sewerage act, but these things were finally adjusted to the satisfaction of Mayor Hayes, and the session came to an end 30 days after it had been convened, with the whole program accomplished.

Close upon the heels of the close of the extra session came the Councilmanic election of 1901, in which Hayes was vitally interested. He had candidates in the primaries in various wards and made a general fight against the Rasin organization. In some wards he was successful, in others not, but in the general election so bitter had become the feeling between the Democratic factions that the Republicans gained control of the Council and carried the city by 2,202, gaining 17 seats in the First Branch and four in the Second. The personnel of that Council was as follows:

#### FIRST BRANCH.

First Ward—A. M. Touchton, Republican.

Second—John A. Janetzke, Republican.

Third—Martin Stuckert, Republican.

Fourth—Louis D. Greene, Democrat.

Fifth—L. H. Miller, Republican.

Sixth—R. M. McClintock, Republican.

Seventh—George Gebelein, Republican.

Eighth—William H. Parker, Republican.

Ninth—Samuel Regester, Democrat.

Tenth—Terence McMahon, Democrat.

Eleventh—George Stewart Brown, Democrat.

Twelfth—W. Starr Gephart, Democrat.

Thirteenth—E. Clay Timanus, Republican.

Fourteenth—Bushrod M. Watts, Democrat.

Fifteenth—Henry A. Ulrich, Republican.  
Sixteenth—Thomas S. Bell, Republican.  
Seventeenth—Hiram Watty, Republican.  
Eighteenth—B. Frank Kelly, Republican.  
Nineteenth—James H. Marine, Republican.  
Twentieth—Henry Hoffmeister, Republican.  
Twenty-First—William Kalb, Republican.  
Twenty-Second—Albert M. Sproesser, Republican.  
Twenty-Third—Charles H. Heintzman, Republican.  
Twenty-Fourth—H. J. C. Hoffman, Democrat.

#### SECOND BRANCH.

First District—W. A. Eisenbrandt, Republican; L. A. Dieter, Democrat.

Second District—William C. Smith, Republican; James B. Guyton, Democrat.

Third District—William D. Platt, Republican; Richard M. Venable, Democrat.

Fourth District—George W. Howser, Republican; H. F. Lindeman, Democrat.

In the next chapter will be told the story of the formal launching of the candidacy of Senator Gorman for election to the Senate, and the memorable dinner at the Dulaney Valley home of Joseph Friedenwald, with the stirring events that marked the State fight of 1901.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

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### How Gorman Fought His Way Back to the Senate—The Friedenwald Dinner.

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It was not until the excitement of the extra session of the Legislature of 1901 had subsided and the hot weather had begun to cool the ardor of the politicians that Senator Gorman really launched in the open his candidacy for the United States Senate. In the middle of the summer Mr. Joseph Friedenwald, a lifelong Democrat and friend of Mr. Gorman, sent out invitations to a luncheon to be given at his beautiful country home in Dulaney's Valley, Baltimore county. The affair was in honor of Senator Gorman, and to it were bidden the most distinguished and prominent men in the Democratic party from all sections of Maryland. Some of those present were Gen. L. Victor Baughman, Frank A. Furst, John P. Poe, Thomas A. Lanahan, Edwin Warfield, Gov. John Walter Smith, Dr. Joshua W. Hering, Austin L. Crothers, William F. Porter, John Gill, Elihu E. Jackson, Buchanan Schley, Spencer C. Jones, I. Freeman Rasin, Lloyd L. Jackson, Israel Rosenfeld and State Senators and public men from every county and legislative district. They went out from Baltimore in a private car and gathered in high spirits on the veranda of the Friedenwald home. They were greeted by Mr. Friedenwald and the guest of honor. Luncheon was served on the veranda and at its conclusion many speeches were made, the theme of each being the return to the Senate of Arthur P. Gorman.

After they had all gotten through Mr. Gorman himself arose and made a typical Gorman speech, adroit, smooth, graceful, but indefinite and utterly non-committal. In conjunction with the wine and the other speeches, however, it was sufficient to arouse the most unbounded enthusiasm, and the cheers for "Gorman" echoed far up and down the valley. All elements of the party

were represented at the luncheon. Most of them were tried and true Gorman men, but in the crowd were not a few who had fought the Senator with bitterness in other campaigns. One of the guests was I. Freeman Rasin, who sat throughout the dinner listening much, but saying little and applauding not at all.

Incidentally there were launched on that day several good-sized Gubernatorial booms. Edwin Warfield made a speech in which he eulogized Senator Gorman, and said some things which were generally taken as meaning he would be in the fight in 1903. The friends of Colonel Spencer C. Jones enthusiastically boomed him and Colonel Buchanan Schley delicately intimated to a few close friends in an entirely confidential manner that he might be induced, under certain circumstances, to consider the nomination if it should come his way. It will also be recalled by those who were there that this was the occasion upon which William Lee Carey, of Worcester county, at frequent and inopportune intervals, announced "I am for L. Victor Baughman." Everybody had a glorious time, and the whole crowd came back to Baltimore late in the evening enthusiastically shouting for Gorman and fully realizing that he was an avowed and open candidate for the Senatorship. Everybody there had said so, except Mr. Gorman himself, and he had not denied it.

Immediately following the Friedenwald luncheon the campaign opened and there never has been one fought in Maryland where more work was done on both sides or where more earnest efforts were put forth to win. Almost every enemy of Mr. Gorman in the State, who had rejoiced over his downfall six years before, looked upon his prospective return to the Senate as an unmixed calamity, and bent their energies toward preventing it. The anti-Gorman Democrats combined with the Republicans and vigorously supported the Republican legislative nominees throughout the State. The old charges against Gorman were lugged out and aired again, and the old cry of "Gormanism" and "Rasinism" again resounded in counties and city. In the Democratic camp Mr. Gorman took personal charge of the fight, and while, as always, he kept as much in the background as he could, putting Murray Vandiver and others to the fore, there was not a move made from beginning to end in that campaign that was not

directed by him. Great care was taken in the city in the selection of the candidates for the Legislature. It was realized that upon this fight hinged Mr. Gorman's whole political future, as well as the fate of the whole Gorman-Rasin machine. If he won, there would be no one for years to dispute his control or aspire to his seat. If he lost, his power would be sapped and his leadership gone. Few men could have retained the control he did after his one defeat for the Senatorship. No leader could stand two successive repudiations. Realizing this situation, after the legislative primaries had been held in Baltimore, a conference of the leaders was called in the city and it was determined to make some changes in the slate with the view of "strengthening" the ticket.

Governor Smith and Senator Gorman both urged that this be done, and Rasin acquiesced. On the night before the four legislative district conventions were to meet Mr. Rasin induced three men who had not been candidates in the primaries and had not been previously mentioned in connection with the nomination to permit themselves to be named for the House of Delegates. These men were Isaac Lobe Straus, Peter J. Campbell and Sherlock Swann. Rasin's idea was that these three men, being well-known men of character and standing, would "perfume" the whole ticket and get it votes where votes were needed. In order to carry out his program he was obliged ruthlessly to sidetrack three candidates who had gone before the voters of their respective wards in the primaries and fairly won their nomination. One of these was W. G. Towers, of the Fifteenth ward, who, after a hot primary fight had carried his ward and felt sure of the reward. No one dreamed that Mr. Towers would not be named until the morning of the convention of the Second district. Then when the delegates gathered at Russell's Hall, on Pennsylvania avenue, it became known that Mr. Rasin had passed the word down the line that Straus was to go on the ticket in place of Towers. Immediately there was a wild uproar. The Towers delegates vehemently protested and denounced the change as an unmitigated outrage. They cursed "Old Man" Rasin and they swore to get even. The protest, however, was unavailing. "Bob" Padgett presided over the convention and jammed the slate through while the Towers delegates were still

howling. It was all done before they knew what had happened. Of course, they howled worse than ever, but it did no good. A similar demonstration occurred in the Third district convention, where Sherlock Swann and Peter J. Campbell were named, the disappointed candidates futilely endeavoring to block the scheme.

After the legislative nominations had been made the State convention was called for August 2, and it was at this convention that the "white supremacy" plank that has been a feature of every Democratic platform in the State since, first made its appearance. It was drawn by John P. Poe at the suggestion of Gorman and adopted with tremendous enthusiasm. Governor Smith was present at the convention and was enthusiastically received. L. Victor Baughman presided and Dr. Joshua W. Hering was renominated for Comptroller, and J. Frank Turner, of Easton, for Clerk of the Court of Appeals. The Smith administration and the extra session were indorsed and the census frauds of the Republicans vigorously denounced. Both Mr. Rasin and Mr. Gorman were on hand, as were most of the other leaders of the regular organization. One of the conspicuous figures was that of Edwin Warfield. A big demonstration greeted the appearance of Mr. Gorman and the whole convention was a Gorman body.

The Republicans followed with their convention the next week, nominating for Comptroller, Herman S. Platt, and for Clerk of the Court of Appeals, Thomas Parran. They denounced the Smith administration and the extra session, attacked Governor Smith's record and shouted "Gormanism" and "Rasinism." Senator McComas was in complete control. George A. Pearre presided, and there was much eloquent denunciation of the Democrats. The platform promised, among other things, a primary election law, a corrupt practices act and the repeal of the election law passed in 1901. P. L. Goldsborough was again made chairman of the State Central Committee.

The campaign at once became hot.

The Reform League forces, engineered by Charles J. Bonaparte, vigorously opposed Mr. Gorman. A big meeting was held at which he was denounced by Edgar H. Gans, Summerfield Baldwin, William Keyser, Bonaparte and others. Henry W.

Williams, Leigh Bonsal, Reuben Foster and others took part in the campaign against him and the Republicans had lots of Democratic assistance, both financially and otherwise.

The Democrats followed up the Reform League meeting with one of their own at Music Hall, where speeches were made by Bernard Carter, Governor Smith and Senator Gorman. Isidor Rayner, who was then engaged in the trial of the Schley case, wrote a letter that was read at this meeting urging the election of the Democratic ticket, and Ex-Gov. Frank Brown pitched into the fight, organizing a Young Men's Democratic League and holding a big meeting at which Isaac Lobe Straus and others spoke. Senator McComas, Thomas J. Shryock and other Republican leaders gave out interviews and made speeches calling upon the people to rise in their might and prevent the re-establishment of Gormanism and Rasinism.

While all this strife was going on and Mr. Gorman was watching every move and fighting as he had rarely fought before in his life, Mr. Rasin was having a most annoying time in the city. At this period there was a complete estrangement between him and John J. Mahon. Just what the break was about originally is a matter of speculation, but it has generally been thought it was over money matters. Anyhow, Mahon hated Rasin and Rasin hated Mahon. They could not control themselves when speaking of each other, and the bitterness was intense. Rasin did all he could to put Mahon out of business, having policemen stationed in front of his friends' saloons, breaking up whatever little card games his friends were interested in, and otherwise making life unpleasant and unprofitable for "Sonny." In return "Sonny" had his knife out for every candidate in whom the "Old Man" was particularly interested. Mahon was for Gorman all right, and in this campaign supported the legislative ticket, although he knew the men nominated were Rasin men and his political enemies. His chance to "even up" with Rasin, however, was on the city ticket.

It happened this year that Mr. Rasin had nominated for Clerk of the Superior Court his friend John Hannibal. Hannibal was about the straightest and cleanest man connected with the Rasin organization. Those who know him best know that he never

profited by his connection with politics, and that his interest in the game was that of a Democrat. He was a personal more than a political friend of Rasin's. He liked politics and liked to be thought of as having influence in the organization. He was popular generally with the rank and file, and Mr. Rasin liked him. He nominated him for Clerk of the Superior Court. John Mahon also liked Hannibal, but he frankly told him after his nomination that he intended to beat him.

"It ain't you, John," he said, "it's that blankety blank, blankety blank blank up there in the Law Building I am after, and the only way I can get him is to lick you, and I am going to do it."

And he made good his word. Hannibal owed his defeat directly to the knifing of Mahon and his friends. Hannibal went down and with him went Gen. Stewart Brown, the candidate for Clerk of Circuit Court No. 2. Robert Ogle was elected Clerk of the Superior Court and Thomas A. Robinson Clerk of the Circuit Court. The only Democrat on the city ticket who did not go down before the assault of Mahon and his friends was George Warfield, who, as a candidate for Sheriff, defeated "Sam" Davis by a narrow margin.

For days after the election there was doubt about the control of the Legislature. The Republicans had a big majority of the wards in the city and elected most of their candidates. Straus and Campbell, two of the men Mr. Rasin had put on to strengthen the ticket, pulled through by the skin of their teeth, but Sherlock Swann, the other man, was defeated by nearly 1,100 majority. It was nearly a week before Senator McComas and the other Republican leaders would concede that the Democrats were in a majority in the Legislature and that Gorman had won. Finally, when the concession was made, notice was filed of the intention of the Republicans to contest 20 and more seats of Democratic members on the ground of fraud. The Democrats immediately retaliated by filing notice of just about that number of contests against Republicans, and it was recognized that the fight was over and that Gorman had carried the day.

When the smoke finally cleared away it was seen that the Democrats had 51 in the House and 17 in the Senate, while the Republicans had 44 in the House and 9 in the Senate, giving the

Democrats a majority of 15 on joint ballot. There was wild rejoicing in the Democratic ranks. The leaders of the "old guard" felt as if they had come into their own again, and all over the State the Gorman people were happy. THE SUN, which six years before had teemed with editorials against Mr. Gorman and whose fight had beaten Hurst for Governor and elected Wellington and McComas Senators, went through the 1901 campaign without a single editorial expression, either for or against Mr. Gorman. Up to the very last moment a declaration was looked for, the Gormanites dreading it, and the Republicans and anti-Gorman Democrats hoping that it would come. It was conceded later, in view of the closeness of the result, that one hostile editorial from THE SUN could probably have beaten Mr. Gorman again, but that editorial did not materialize.

The personnel of the Senate and House of Delegates of 1902 was as follows:

#### THE SENATE.

(Senators Elected November 5, 1901.)

Allegany—David J. Lewis, Democrat.  
Baltimore City, District 2—Lewis Putzel, Republican.  
Caroline—Harry A. Roe, Republican.  
Cecil—Henry M. McCullough, Republican.  
Charles—George T. C. Gray, Republican.  
Dorchester—William F. Applegarth, Democrat.  
Garrett—Robt. A. Ravenscroft, Republican.  
Harford—Thomas H. Robinson, Democrat.  
Montgomery—Spencer C. Jones, Democrat.  
Prince George's—Joseph S. Wilson, Democrat.  
St. Mary's—James J. Greenwell, Democrat.  
Talbot—Robert B. Dixon, Republican.  
Worcester—John P. Moore, Democrat.

(Senators Elected in 1899 Holding Over.)

Anne Arundel—Elijah Williams, Democrat.  
Baltimore City—(First District)—Jacob M. Moses, Democrat.

(Third District)—Olin Bryan, Democrat.  
Baltimore County—John Hubner, Democrat.  
Calvert—Charles L. Marsh, Republican.  
Carroll—Johnzie E. Beasman, Democrat.  
Frederick—Jacob Rohrback, Democrat.  
Howard—William B. Peter, Democrat.  
Kent—James H. Baker, Republican.  
Queen Anne's—James E. Kirwan, Democrat.  
Somerset—Lemuel E. P. Dennis, Republican.  
Washington—B. Abner Betts, Democrat.  
Wicomico—Marion V. Brewington, Democrat.

## THE HOUSE.

Allegany—Jasper W. Robinette, David T. Williams, Nicholson Eilbeck, Hugh McMillan, Republicans; Francis J. Drum, Democrat.

Anne Arundel—William T. Leatherbury, John A. Watts, Fred L. Shipley, James R. Brashears, Democrats.

Baltimore City—(First Legislative District)—Louis E. Melis, Lewis L. Bawsell, Dr. William F. Pentz, George W. Baumgarner, Harry E. Johnson, Republicans; Stephen C. Little, Democrat.

(Second Legislative District)—Stanley A. Foutz, William A. S. Beasley, William M. Kerr, John R. M. Staum, Republicans; Peter J. Campbell, Isaac Lobe Straus, Democrats.

(Third Legislative District)—J. Leonard Hoffman, James E. Godwin, Joseph Hart, William F. Broening, James F. Morgan, William G. Henkel, Republicans.

Baltimore County—George Y. Everhart, Edw. Lynn Painter, C. Lyon Rogers, Jr., Christopher C. Slade, Henry W. Knoebel, John Green, Democrats.

Calvert—Oliver D. Simmons, Louis McK. Griffith, Republicans.

Caroline—William W. Goldsborough, Charles W. Jefferson, Democrats.

Carroll—Jesse W. Fuss, Henry J. Hoffacker, Democrats; Charles J. H. Ganter, Harry F. Baer, Republicans.

Cecil—Bennett Steele, George W. Cosden, Democrats; Joshua Clayton, Republican.

Charles—James De B. Walbach of G., T. J. Jackson Smoot, Republicans.

Dorchester—Tilghman R. Hackett, James S. Shepherd, John A. Baker, Benj. J. Linthicum, Democrats.

Frederick—Thomas Hightman, James W. Smith, Aug. W. Nicodemus, William H. Harry, John P. T. Matthias, Republicans.

Garrett—Patrick E. Finzel, Charles A. Ashby, Republicans.

Harford—George W. McComas, Noble L. Mitchell, Howard Proctor, Danl. H. Carroll of P., Democrats.

Howard—John G. Rogers, Wm. H. Forsyth, Jr., Democrats.

Kent—Azariah M. Kendall, Thomas W. Trew, Republicans.

Montgomery—Walter A. Johnston, John P. Sellman, Clifford H. Robertson, Henry R. Benson, Democrats.

Prince George's—Frederick Dallam, Robert W. Brooke, Robert W. Wells, Democrats; James P. Curley, Republican.

Queen Anne's—John T. Norman, William Otho Thomas, Jas. T. Bright, Democrats.

Somerset—A. Lincoln Dryden, Joseph Muir, Republicans; W. Trickett Giles, Democrat.

St. Mary's—T. Lee Mattingly, Charles S. Grason, Democrats.

Talbot—William H. Myers, Jr., Nicholas S. Callahan, Democrats; Perry C. Benson, Republican.

Washington—Charles G. Biggs, Joseph W. Wolfinger, Harry K. Startzman, Benj. F. Charles, W. M. Newcomer, Republicans.

Wicomico—Albert L. Jones, J. Cleveland White, Franklin B. Culver, Democrats.

Worcester—Lemuel W. Olney, Edwin J. Dirickson, E. Fillmore Merrill, Democrats.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

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Isaac Lobe Straus' Great Fight at Annapolis in 1902—How He Defeated the Bosses.

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Almost before the Legislature of 1902 convened trouble started among the Democrats, and the session that followed was one of the most tempestuous in the history of the State. The storm center was Isaac Lobe Straus, now Attorney-General of Maryland, with Senatorial aspirations himself.

Mr. Straus, it seems, before consenting to go on the ticket as a candidate for the House of Delegates, had had it intimated to him by the leaders that if he agreed to accept the nomination he would have their support for the Speakership of the House of Delegates. While afterward the leaders all vehemently denied that Mr. Straus had been promised the Speakership, the impression Mr. Straus received at the time was that the reason they wanted him to run was because they wanted to make him Speaker. Such was the impression made upon him, by his talks with Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin, prior to his nomination. Straus went on the ticket and took a leading part in the campaign, speaking almost nightly. Soon after the election, and when it had been definitely settled that the Democrats were in control, Mr. Straus openly announced himself as a candidate for the Speakership, and started in to get the support of the Democrats elected to the House. He was permitted to proceed without interruption for some time, until just before Christmas Mr. Gorman came to Baltimore and there had a conference with Mr. Rasin, Congressman Talbott and others. At that conference it was decided that Straus would not do at all for the Speakership. He was altogether too independent, had too many ideas of his own, and could not be managed.

Also, some of the gentlemen who were engaged in the lobby protested strongly against any plan of making him Speaker.

After some consulting, Straus' claims were pushed aside, and an agreement between the leaders was reached to make Noble L. Mitchell, of Harford county, Speaker, who had been advanced as a candidate by Chairman Murray Vandiver.

On December 30, at the Rennert, a luncheon and general conference was held, to which all of the Democratic members of the Legislature and a good many of the county and city leaders were bidden. There the word was passed down the line for Mitchell, and the fight was over. Straus came into the long dining-room just about the time everybody was congratulating Mr. Mitchell. He saw what had occurred, and immediately declared war on the organization. He emphatically announced that he meant to wage war upon the organization leaders from the top down; that he would oppose them and their schemes at Annapolis, that he intended to exercise his privileges as a member to see that outside bosses did not dictate legislation; that there was no lobbying done on the floor of the House, and that the delegates were allowed to exercise their own judgment.

Because of the closeness of the vote in the House, this attitude of Mr. Straus' caused considerable consternation among the organization leaders, who had turned him down. They knew that there were a great many important things at stake which Mr. Straus might be able to upset. Besides the re-election of Senator Gorman, Mr. Vandiver himself was a candidate for re-election as State Treasurer, and the bosses were interested in a good many other minor matters. Within the next week or so some dozen or more Democrats of prominence, at the instance of the leaders, went to Mr. Straus to reason with him. He was told that he was a young man with a bright political future, but that if he persisted in this course of fighting the organization he would ruin himself politically. Mr. Straus replying, denounced the organization, and the leaders, in unstinted words, and said he would take care of his own political future. He was told that the thing he intended to do was un-Democratic and would react upon himself. He asserted that he was a better Democrat than any boss in the State, and did not care if it did react. Finally the leaders gave

Mr. Straus up, and went down to the caucus at Annapolis with grave misgivings.

The caucus slates for the House of Delegates and Senate were selected as follows:

HOUSE.

Speaker—Noble L. Mitchell, of Harford county.

Chief Clerk—Dr. Benjamin L. Smith, of Dorchester county.

Reading Clerk—Walter R. Townsend, of Baltimore county.

Journal Clerk—Frederick Sasscer, of Prince George's county.

SENATE.

President—John Hubner, of Baltimore county.

Secretary—Alfred S. Ritter, of Frederick county.

Reading Clerk—Albert J. Almoney, of Montgomery county.

Journal Clerk—Richard Worthington, of Baltimore city.

Mr. Straus refused to attend the caucus, and the slate was put through in the House without trouble. The leaders began to breathe a little easier, but a few days after the session had got down to routine business they discovered that Mr. Straus had quietly effected an ironbound combination with the 44 Republicans, 3 disgruntled Democrats from Anne Arundel county and himself, which gave him absolute and complete control of the House of Delegates. They sat up and gasped. For the first time in history the organization had lost control of the House of Delegates. The Speaker was helpless. The Democratic floor leader could not accomplish a thing.

The first intimation of the combination came one day early in January, when Mr. Straus, after endeavoring to gain recognition for some time, finally obtained it and appealed from the decision of the Speaker on a point made by him. The Speaker put the motion, but no one took any special interest in the vote until Anne Arundel county was called, and when the three delegates from that section voted against the Speaker consternation reigned. The sergeant-at-arms and the Democratic whips were sent scurrying about the State House to bring in absent Democratic members. When every man was in

his seat the roll call, which had been delayed on one pretext or another by Reading Clerk Townsend, was continued. Every Republican and the three Anne Arundel Democrats voted with Straus, and the appeal from the Speaker was sustained.

The leaders were distinctly shocked. Every effort to break the ranks of the insurgents was tried in vain. The Anne Arundel Democrats were threatened and cajoled, but without effect. They were absolutely controlled by Dr. George Wells, of Anne Arundel county, who disliked Governor Smith and was vehemently against Murray Vandiver. The Republicans had made their adherence to Straus a matter of caucus action, and not a man could be budged. From that moment Straus had things in his own hands. He passed whatever he pleased through the House, and he killed what he did not want to pass, and his forces stood solidly behind him on every vote. The combination was effected through the help of Congressman Sydney E. Mudd, upon whose advice the Republicans acted. To the credit of Mr. Straus be it said that more good legislation was passed by this House of Delegates than probably any other. It passed a Corrupt Practices act, a Primary Election law for the State, the Haman Oyster bill and many other measures of general State importance.

All of these were, of course, promptly killed in the Senate, where the organization was in complete control. In return Mr. Straus saw to it that every measure that looked like a pet of the organization or of some leader that passed the Senate met death in the House. Few, if any, got by him. The situation was a most trying one for the organization. With the House of Delegates absolutely out from under their control they dared attempt no political legislation that did not have the sanction of Mr. Straus, and every time they killed a Straus bill in the Senate Straus retaliated by killing something the leaders were interested in in the House. He was pleaded with again and again to give up and stop fighting the organization, and was told that he had blasted his whole career by his course. This did not trouble him.

The one thing upon which he did act with the organization was in the re-election of Senator Gorman. He did not oppose Senator Gorman, and on January 14, Mr. Gorman was elected for the

full term of six years, getting every Democartic vote in both House and Senate. Mr. Straus, however, despite all pleadings, refused to fall in line for Mr. Vandiver as State Treasurer, and declined absolutely to go into the caucus by which the Democrats were bound to him. So alarmed were the leaders at the opposition to Mr. Vandiver that arrangements were made to have a number of Republicans vote for him on the secret ballot so as to offset the possible desertion of any Democrats. Straus voted for Douglas H. Thomas for State Treasurer, and the result of the ballot showed that Mr. Vandiver received two more votes than there were Democrats in the Legislature. He got more votes than Senator Gorman. It was said by those who were on the inside at the time that at least two, and possibly three, Republicans, voted for Mr. Vandiver, it being deemed wise by that gentleman not to take any chances. The Republicans who voted for him were from the city delegation, and their names were pretty well known by their colleagues.

Before the election of Senator Gorman, Senator McComas, Collector Stone and Republican leaders all over the State endeavored to arouse a feeling that would split the Democrats in the Legislature. In this, however, they failed. Just before the election of the Senator, however, a proposition was advanced at Annapolis by which it was hoped to break the ranks. Those who were there at the time and in a position to know, know that it was directly told Governor Smith that if he could get eight Democrats to vote for him he would be supported by the entire Republican strength on joint ballot and thus elected. The total Democratic majority on joint ballot was only 15. The deflection of eight of these combined with the Republicans would have been a majority, and would have elected any man. Governor Smith's friends in Annapolis and Senator Gorman himself knew that had the Governor been willing to lend himself to this sort of thing he could then have been elected Senator at this time in place of Mr. Gorman.

Governor Smith told those who came to him with the proposition that he was not that kind of a Democrat, and he was not that kind of a man. He said he would like to be United States Senator—in fact, hoped to be some day—but that he did not want the place badly enough to think it worth being disloyal to his

friends. Nor, he added, did he want to be United States Senator if he had to be elected by Republican votes. That this incident actually occurred, and occurred in this way can be vouched for by a number of men still living who knew the whole circumstances. Governor Smith at this time was a candidate for the United States Senate in 1904, and expected to have the support of Mr. Gorman then. His influence was such that he could not only have gotten eight Democrats to have voted for him, but could probably have gotten twice that many had he been willing to deal in that sort of treachery. Those who know Governor Smith, however, know that he never played a dirty political trick in his life. They hold that he is incapable of disloyalty or treachery or deceit or meanness. Therefore, they were not surprised that the proposition made to him did not even tempt him. He merely laughed at it. He did not even think his declination a particularly virtuous one. It never occurred to him that any other answer was possible.

When that session of the Legislature was over the Democratic organization leaders heaved sighs of relief. The Straus control of the House had kept them on the anxious bench for three months, and the strain proved almost too much for some of them. They never knew what was going to happen next. Threats, promises and persuasion were all alike futile in dealing with Straus, who could not be swerved from his course, and who had during those three months many exciting battles on the floor of the House, some of which almost led to personal conflicts. Toward the end, however, he had so thoroughly proved his ability to take care of himself that he was let alone. He was easily the best parliamentarian in either branch of the Legislature at the time, and in debate he outclassed any man on the floor of the House, so that with him as its leader the Straus-Republican combination had full sway and the leaders were greatly mortified at the way in which they were treated. At the close of the session Straus had more than evened up for his "throw-down" for the Speakership.

It was predicted generally by organization Democrats that he had killed himself politically, and that he could never again hold office in the Democratic party. This did not discourage Mr. Straus much, and in the very next State campaign he came to the

front as an aspirant for the nomination for the Attorney-Generalship. Then it was the leaders had their innings, and they crushed Mr. Straus' ambition for the time being, nominating that distinguished Democratic lawyer, William Shepard Bryan, Jr.

An incident of considerable political significance that preceded the session of 1902 that should be mentioned here was the announcement by Edwin Warfield of his candidacy for the Democratic Gubernatorial nomination. Mr. Warfield had been looked upon as a tentative candidate ever since the Friedenwald dinner, but was not really in the field. The week after the November election of 1901 Mr. Warfield, in a straightforward, plain statement made to the writer of this book and published in *THE SUN*, announced himself as a candidate. He declared that he did not propose to seek the nomination from any man or set of men; that if he could not get it directly from the people he did not want it at all. He did not propose to buy it, as there was no honor in a position so obtained, and he did not propose to beg for it, because he could not afford to humiliate himself. He desired the nomination and intended to appeal directly to the masses of the Democratic voters. If they wanted him as Governor they could manifest that desire in the primaries. Although he lived and voted in Howard county, he declared that he proposed to regard himself as the Baltimore city candidate. He had big business interests in the city, and felt that the city was entitled to the nomination. He made his announcement two years in advance of the election, he said, because he saw no reason for withholding his ambition from the people, and he desired to make his fight in the open.

This statement of Mr. Warfield came at an opportune time, and it gave him a decided advantage over all other candidates. By the time others got into the field they found the Warfield sentiment had so crystalized strength and headway that it could not be combatted. The people had made up their minds to have Warfield for Governor, and to have nominated anyone else would have been to invite certain defeat. Mr. Warfield himself later attributed much of his strength in his fight for the nomination this second time to the fact that he had two years before openly proclaimed himself as a candidate.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

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### The McLane-Hayes Primaries and the True Story of Robert M. McLane's Candidacy.

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In the last years of his life the two men whom I. Freeman Rasin hated with his whole soul were Thomas G. Hayes and Edwin Warfield. He never did like Mr. Warfield, but in 1903 he had not begun to entertain toward him those feelings of bitterness which afterward characterized him. At that period his best energies were given up to hating Hayes. He used to refer to Governor Warfield, after the latter had repudiated the Rasin organization, as "that high-headed fellow up in the Fidelity Building." It is not possible to print the names by which he was wont to indicate Mr. Hayes. They were both lurid and luminous.

Almost from the time he was inaugurated Mr. Hayes began to play the game for a renomination and to build up a Hayes machine. He repudiated and denounced the Rasin organization, and cast all the Rasin men who were holding offices upon whom he could lay his hands into outer darkness. Soon after January 1, 1903, he made formal announcement of his candidacy for renomination, appealing to the citizens to support him upon the strength of his record as Mayor and his known honesty and independence. James T. Doyle, then warden of the city jail, was his political manager and adviser. Others in his kitchen cabinet were John H. Sirich, Sol Freburger, Samuel Randall and James H. Smith. Later, through Doyle, Hayes contracted a political alliance with J. Frank Morrison, the leading spirit in the Crescent Club, the old-time enemy of Rasin, and Hiram Dudley, who had been worsted in the Nineteenth ward by Daniel J. Loden, but who was still considered a power and was also anti-Rasin.

The Hayes organization was built upon the patronage in the City Hall, and in every ward in the city Doyle, for the Mayor,

had endeavored to construct a machine through the judicious distribution of minor positions in the City Hall. With his record, which was a good one; his newspaper support, his control of the City Hall patronage and the apparently unlimited campaign fund with which he was provided Hayes was a formidable candidate.

After his formal announcement he organized, not only in every ward, but in the town generally, campaign committees, and there flocked to his support many of the leading Democrats of the city. John F. Williams became the chairman of his campaign committee. Men such as Edgar H. Gans, William L. Marbury and others came out openly for him, and the Evening News, then published by Mr. Charles H. Grasty, began to make a vigorous fight for his nomination. The Mayor and his friends were elated. They began to think they had the organization and Mr. Rasin on the run, and that they would run away with the town in the primaries. About this time—in February—Mr. Francis E. Yewell announced himself as a candidate for the Democratic nomination and started in to make a campaign as the “workingman’s friend.” Mr. Yewell was popular throughout the town. He had always been a straight organization Democrat, and his friends believed that if the organization would take him up he could beat Hayes in the primaries. He opened up headquarters on West Fayette street, but the organization—by which is meant Rasin—made no move. It gave him absolutely no encouragement, and the word went out that it was hunting for a third man to put in the field to beat Hayes. And this was, in fact, the situation.

Mr. Rasin realized as well as anyone in the city—perhaps better than anyone—the strength of Hayes. He knew that to beat him in the primaries it would be necessary to have a candidate who would be so far above politics and political influence that the cry of “Rasin’s man” could not affect him. He knew that the time had gone by when he could hope to put up a straight out and out organization man and jam him through. Yet he was determined to beat Hayes if he had to nominate his next greatest enemy. For weeks and weeks, while Hayes and Yewell campaigned energetically, the organization workers and ward leaders grew more and more restless and uneasy. They were afraid the “Old Man” was losing his grip. They thought valuable time was being lost

in getting behind a candidate. Hayes was gathering the loose ends of the organization into his camp. Yewell was making progress among the laboring element. Everything was going to pieces. Throughout this period Mr. Rasin sat unmoved, declaring to those who came into his office that he was taking no part in the campaign; that he had "washed his hands" of the whole business, and they could "go do as they liked." He did not, he said, intend to have the whole brunt of the fight on his shoulders. He did not care if they got another candidate in the field. If the people wanted to nominate that—(referring to Hayes)—why, let them go ahead and do it. As for him, he was out of politics.

This and a lot more of the same sort, was quickly spread by his followers and helped complicate the situation. All the time the "Old Man" was working under cover. In those weeks while the thing was drifting, the organization support for the nomination was offered to some half-dozen or more men of prominence in the community. The offers were not made directly by Mr. Rasin, but through eminently respectable emissaries. One of those who could have had the nomination but declined was Mr. Wilton Snowden.

In the meantime Gov. John Walter Smith had begun to interest himself in the situation. Governor Smith was an out-and-out candidate for the United States Senate. He and his friends recognized that the election of a Democratic Mayor in the spring would greatly facilitate the election of a Democratic Governor and Legislature in the fall. Upon the Legislature being Democratic depended whether or not his Senatorial candidacy would amount to anything. Hence he had a vital stake in the fight. He believed that without Rasin's help in the Legislature he could not go to the Senate. Therefore he was anxious to have Rasin defeat Hayes with a candidate who could win. About this time Mr. George Cator was brought out as a candidate by Edward Parrish, John Waters and other enthusiastic friends. Mr. Cator, a scholarly and accomplished man and a Democrat from principle, was ambitious to be Mayor. He was ready to announce himself at the slightest hint that the organization would be for him. Mr. Rasin never gave that hint. While Mr. Cator was hovering on

the brink of announcement, and his friends were scouring the town getting signatures to a petition for him, Gen. Ferdinand C. Latrobe suddenly announced his candidacy, depositing his money with the Supervisors of Elections.

Back of General Latrobe's candidacy was the late Thomas M. Lanahan. Mr. Lanahan had a tremendous belief in the popularity of General Latrobe, and was convinced that he could win where no one else would stand a chance. He talked with Rasin about it and Rasin seemed to acquiesce. "Bob" Padgett, who was a dyed-in-the-wool Latrobe man, immediately began to shout for the seven-times Mayor. Mr. Rasin told some of his followers in his office that "it looks like Latrobe to me."

Immediately the word went flying down the line, and the organization people all over the city began to declare for Latrobe. A meeting of the ward executives was called by Secretary William F. Porter. They met in the Calvert Building one Monday night; and every man reported that the sentiment in his ward was overwhelmingly for Latrobe. "Bill" Garland, anxious to get in ahead of the others, the next night called a meeting of the Third Ward Democratic Club and indorsed Latrobe's candidacy.

The next day Mr. Rasin sat in his office and told everybody who came in: "There is nothing in this Latrobe business. Latrobe is a dead one. He could not win if you were to nominate him. THE SUN paper won't support him. He is tied up with the Consolidated Gas Company and he won't do."

Right away this was carried "down the line," and consternation ensued among the organized forces. At once the shouting for Latrobe was checked and all enthusiasm about his candidacy ebbed. It fell absolutely flat. It became a joke. "Bill" Garland, looking very foolish, came up to the "Old Man's" office to know what to do, and the "Old Man" told him to "do what he d—— pleased;" that he was out of politics and had nothing to do with this fight.

There were some more days of suspense, and finally one morning the announcement was made in THE SUN that Robert M. McLane, then State's Attorney, had been offered the organization support for the nomination. It was said that Mr. McLane had been asked to be a candidate by Democrats far removed from the

influence of the organization, but who had the interests of the party at heart, and wanted to end this painful situation. The statement was made that the organization leaders knew nothing whatever about the effort to get Mr. McLane into the field as a candidate, but that it was known if he did consent at the instance of his independent Democratic friends to go into the fight the organization would be only too glad to fall in behind him. The next day it was announced that Mr. McLane had resisted these efforts and refused to become a candidate. The day following there was a story that the attempt to induce McLane for the good of the party to make the fight had been renewed by Democrats of influence and standing in the community, whose independence was conceded, and that he was considering it. Two days of speculation followed, and then came the announcement from Mr. McLane himself that he would be a candidate for the nomination. Simultaneously with this announcement he filed his papers and deposited his money with the Supervisors.

Now the truth about the bringing out of McLane was this: The first man who really made an effort toward getting him to consider the nomination was Major Richard M. Venable. The whole thing was patched up in the Maryland Club. Major Venable talked with Gov. Frank Brown about it. The next man taken in was William Keyser—he of the Reform League. William Cabell Bruce, who was McLane's law partner, was consulted, and it was agreed that it would be a mighty fine thing for the city if McLane could be elected Mayor.

Ex-Governor Brown, being upon terms of political intimacy and friendship with Mr. Rasin, such as Mr. Keyser never enjoyed, was delegated to see what Rasin's attitude would be. He saw Rasin and laid the McLane proposition before him. At first Rasin balked. Then he wanted to talk with McLane. He did see McLane, and after two or three days let it be known to Governor Brown in his characteristic way that he would support him. McLane was then brought out under absolutely independent Democratic auspices, being assured before he came out of the support of the Rasin organization and of the elements of the independents represented by Keyser, Bruce, Venable and others.

At once the Hayes, Yewell and Latrobe people made common

cause against McLane. The first point raised against him was the question of his eligibility. It was discovered that his name was not on the tax books of the city, and that he owned no real estate. The cry that he was ineligible was immediately raised. McLane showed that he owned stocks and bonds, which were taxed by the city, in sufficient quantity to make him eligible, and opinions that there was not the slightest doubt as to his eligibility were rendered by Bernard Carter, John P. Poe, William Shepard Bryan, Jr., and a host of other Democratic lawyers.

This was too good a point to let slip, however, and the Hayes people at once came back with the opinions of other lawyers that he was clearly ineligible. The controversy over this waged fiercely for a while and was then dropped. It was revived shortly before the primaries, however, by William Pinkney Whyte, who, in an interview, gave his opinion that McLane was clearly ineligible. Governor Whyte and the McLanes family were never upon good terms, and the McLanes greatly resented this action of Mr. Whyte's.

In the meanwhile developments began to occur rapidly. McLane was anxious to have on the organization ticket with him strong men for President of the Second Branch and City Comptroller. Mr. Rasin, on the other hand was equally determined to have these places filled by men whom he knew were his friends, having for the sake of defeating Hayes accepted a man for the Mayoralty nomination whom he knew he could not control. W. Starr Gephart was Rasin's candidate for the Presidency of the Second Branch, but the search for an available candidate for Comptroller was almost as difficult as the one the organization had just passed through for the head of the ticket. The nomination was offered to John S. Gittings, but declined. Various other men were mentioned and rejected, and this was the one place still vacant on the organization slate. One Monday night the ward executives and some of the city leaders met in the Calvert Building to go over the situation. After the meeting there was some general talk about the Comptrollership. At this time Harry F. Hooper was the executive of the Sixth ward, having been made such by James W. Lewis, the boss of the ward. Hooper was then an \$18-a-week clerk in an ice company. In

talking over the situation Lewis said half jestingly: "They ought to give the Comptroller to the Sixth ward." Someone else said: "Who have you got over there?" and Lewis answered, "Why, here is Harry Hooper. You're all talking about 'young men' and 'new blood.' He is a young man and has never held any office. Nobody knows him, but that won't hurt him in the campaign." John Hannibal, who was present, spoke up and said he thought East Baltimore was entitled to the nomination, and believed Hooper would run as well as some others who had been mentioned.

There was a reporter of THE SUN in the crowd, and the next day Hooper's name was mentioned in connection with the Comptrollership nomination. This was the first time Hooper had ever been mentioned or thought of in connection with a public office. Seeing his name in the paper the next day, Hannibal and Lewis took more seriously what they had started as a joke and actually went to Mr. Rasin with the proposition to nominate Hooper. Rasin had never heard of Hooper, but after making some inquiries and being assured by Hannibal and Lewis that he was "true blue" and a "Muldoon," and various other things, said "all right," and let the word go out for Hooper. Hooper was so delighted that he wept in John Hannibal's office. He was half scared to death, but his friends braced him up and told him not to be afraid and that all he had to do was to get up on the platform and say he could not make a speech, but that he was a Democrat. This completed the organization slate.

On the other hand, the Hayes slate was completed by the entrance into the fight of James B. Guyton as a candidate for the Presidency of the Second Branch City Council and of City Comptroller James H. Smith as a candidate for renomination as Comptroller. They both joined forces with Hayes, and it was a clean-cut fight between the Hayes slate on the one side and the organization slate on the other. No one thought for a moment that either Yewell or Latrobe had a ghost of a show, and they did not.

In the two weeks that ensued between the completion of the two slates and the Hayes-McLane primaries there was some of the ugliest and meanest campaigning that ever happened in the city. The Hayes side seemed more plentifully supplied with

money than the other; at least they spent more of it in the preliminary campaign, although on election day the organization forces had all they wanted. But Hayes and his campaign committee practically monopolized the front pages of the newspapers, and every conceivable form of attack was used to weaken McLane. His family and his family characteristics were ridiculed and held up to scorn. The "eligibility" point, about which no lawyer had any real doubt, was played upon day after day. The Poe family, for its support of McLane, came in for a lot of sarcasm and abuse both in prose and in verse, and every effort was made to tar McLane with the Rasin stick and persuade the people that, notwithstanding his fine record and high character, he would be nothing less than a tool of the boss.

On the other hand, the organization managers resorted to tricks and turns of an even more personal nature. The unfortunate incident when Mayor Hayes was taken sick at the Hopkins banquet was recalled, and thousands of cards containing merely this legend, "Vote for the hero of the Hopkins banquet," were printed and distributed broadcast throughout the city. Their distribution caused many persons to inquire into their meaning, and the Hopkins banquet episode was spread throughout the town. It was accentuated by a fierce publication in *THE SUN*, over the signature of Leigh Bonsal, in which the latter recited the circumstances and declared that upon that occasion Mr. Hayes had disgraced the city of Baltimore. Mr. Joseph Packard denounced this sort of campaigning as low and un-Democratic, and the fight began to get lurid. The Evening News supported Mr. Hayes with energy and ability. The day after a magnificent sketch and character study of Hayes appeared in *The News*, in which all of the known virtues were attributed to him. Major Venable wrote and published the following letter:

"After you have completed the building of a mythical Hayes, will you do us the favor to take a day off and study the real Hayes, and then let us know whether you think he is a fit person to be Mayor of Baltimore?"

Something of a sensation was created just before the primaries by a conference held in the State's Attorney's office, at which were present Robert M. McLane, his father, James McLane, Ed-

gar Allan Poe, James B. Guyton and one or two others. At this conference, Mr. McLane made the proposition to Mr. Guyton that both he and Mr. Gephart withdraw as candidates for the Presidency of the Second Branch City Council, and let the party unite upon Mr. Henry Williams for this position. Mr. Guyton refused to consider this proposition and the publication of the proposal created much excitement. McLane had intimated that if this were not agreed to he himself might withdraw. The next day, however, he publicly announced that he would stay in the fight, and nothing further in the way of a realignment was attempted.

It was about this time that Mayor Hayes created some excitement by declaring that if he won his fight in the primaries he would take unto himself a wife. This statement, however, did not disorganize or stampede the organization forces. Still another development was sprung when cards and advertisements began to appear urging voters to vote for "McLane, Guyton and Smith." This was the ticket supported by John J. Mahon and his friends, who, while supporting Mr. McLane, were just as much opposed to Mr. Rasin's candidates—Gephart and Hooper—as they had been to Hannibal in the campaign of 1901.

Governor Smith and the State leaders generally showed their interest in the fight by contributing money to the election of the organization ticket, and by aiding in every way they could. Ex-Governor Brown jumped into the fray, took off his coat and helped organize the Young Men's McLane League. At the time Governor Brown kept people guessing as to whether he intended later to come out as a candidate for Governor or for Senator. It was in this campaign that in reply to a criticism from one of the high-minded members of the Reform League, who took him to task concerning his utterances about "white supremacy," stating that Grover Cleveland had placed his hand upon the head of Booker T. Washington, that Governor Brown said: "I don't object to Grover Cleveland placing his hand on the head of Booker Washington. It is having Booker Washington place his hand on the head of Grover Cleveland that I object to."

Eugene F. O'Dunne was the president of the Young Men's McLane League, and his appearance in that capacity was the

first time anyone had ever heard of him in politics. Allan Girdwood was one of the leaders and moving spirits, as well as organizers of the League, and others prominently connected with it were W. Milnes Maloy, Clarence W. Perkins, Clarence Kirwin, A. S. Goldsborough and George Weems Williams. The executives appointed for the 24 wards representing the League were as follows:

- First Ward—Bayard Williams.
- Second—Fred. V. Reinheimer.
- Third—J. J. McGrath.
- Fourth—J. Harry Wilms.
- Fifth—Harry B. Wolf.
- Sixth—William I. Norris.
- Seventh—J. J. Klecka.
- Eighth—William Duncan.
- Ninth—E. D. Livingston.
- Tenth—John V. Ward.
- Eleventh—William M. Maloy.
- Twelfth—John W. Marshall.
- Thirteenth—Clarence Kirwin.
- Fourteenth—Mason P. Morfit.
- Fifteenth—James F. Gurry.
- Sixteenth—Alfred L. O'Ferrall.
- Seventeenth—Morton Dukehart.
- Eighteenth—Edwin H. Brownly.
- Nineteenth—Bernard Maguire.
- Twentieth—Simon B. Bransky.
- Twenty-First—C. H. Atkinson.
- Twenty-Second—Vincent Demarco.
- Twenty-Third—John L. Dull.
- Twenty-Fourth—H. W. Ludington.

On April 4 the League held a big meeting at the Lyric, which was called to order by Mr. Girdwood, and presided over by Mr. O'Dunne. Speeches were made by B. Howell Griswold, Stuart Janney, A. S. Goldsborough, George Weems Williams, McLane and others. It was about this time that the Crescent Club split up. J. Frank Morrison made a deal with Hayes, and it was understood took charge of the finances of the Hayes campaign. B. B.

Shreeves, came out for McLane. Morrill N. Packard, another Crescent Club leader, who had frequently denounced Hayes as had Morrison, came out for Hayes and spoke nightly for him. The forces in the Crescent Club were divided badly. The fight became furious toward the close. Even the professional independent Democrats were split up. William L. Marbury and Joseph Packard were out for Hayes, while Bonsal, Bruce and many others, who had always opposed Rasin, were for McLane, and being for McLane swallowed the whole organization ticket, just as Mr. Rasin had planned they should when he agreed to nominate McLane.

The primaries were held on April 7 and the organization ticket swept the city. McLane carried 19 of the 24 wards and both Gephart and Hooper ran close up with the head of the ticket. Rasin candidates for the City Council were nominated pretty well in all the districts except the Third, where George Stewart Brown, after one of his door-bell wringing campaigns, defeated Louis Dieter, beating the organization badly. McLane's majority in the primaries was nearly 5,000. Yewell and Latrobe got only an insignificant number of votes. Hayes took his defeat badly. He had been absolutely confident, having been misled by some of his political advisors and betrayed by some others, and entertaining an exaggerated idea of his strength. There are a good many persons who believe that he was really cheated out of the nomination by the organization, and that McLane was counted in. There may be some truth in this. No one can tell exactly. It is certain that in some precincts there was some fraud, and the organization ticket profited by it, but it is doubtful whether there was much of it, and it is probably true that had every vote been counted on the square Hayes would still have been defeated.

With Hooper and Gephart, however, the reverse of this is probably true. The organization, realizing that they were both weaker than McLane and that John Mahon and his friends were out to beat them, left no trick unturned to pull them through. One instance of this will serve to illustrate. On the night of the primaries the returns from the precinct in which Hooper lived were brought in to the Supervisor's office. In advance of the coming of the judges some of the Sixth ward leaders came

around and boasted that they had given Hooper's opponent, James H. Smith, only two votes in the whole precinct. All of the rest had gone to Hooper, the Sixth ward leaders being determined that the figures should show Hooper's great popularity in his home precinct. As returned, the figures made Hooper in this precinct run several hundred votes ahead of McLane and Gephart and made Smith run several hundred behind Hayes and Guyton. This "evidence" of Hooper's "popularity" was overwhelming. One man, however, suggested that it was a little "too raw" to give Smith only two votes in the precinct and that trouble might result.

After some conferring it was decided that this was true. The judges were ordered to go back and recount. When they finally came in Hooper was still way ahead of McLane and Gephart in this precinct, but Smith had been given about twenty, instead of two. After the primaries Mr. Smith secured affidavits from more than fifty persons in the precinct, who swore they had voted for him. Even Mr. Hooper's "popularity" in his home precinct could not account for this. There was much talk of a contest upon the part of the friends of Hayes, Guyton and Smith, but under the law it was impossible to go behind the returns in the primaries, and hence nothing came of it. Had the boxes really been opened and the ballots recounted there would have been some interesting disclosures.

The result of the primaries was a crushing blow to Hayes. All his fine political plans were knocked into a cocked hat and "Old Man" Rasin sat up in the Law Building and chuckled. Not only had he knocked Hayes, whom he hated with all his heart, out of the game, but at the same time he had beaten a whole crew of his other political enemies—Mahon, Morrison and Dudley—who had combined against him. Mahon was the only one of these who did not support Hayes. Every effort to get him in line for Hayes was made, and he did attend a conference with Morrison and Dudley, listened to what they said and then told them to go ahead and count him out; that he would not join them.

The Republican primary contest was but little less exciting and interesting than that on the other side. This was the cam-

paign in which William F. Stone and Frank C. Wachter had their original quarrel and fight. It was the one fight since he has had control of the organization in which Mr. Stone was really worsted and it is a tribute to his ability that the defeat, which was a decisive one, in no wise weakened his control or affected his leadership. Wachter was in Congress at the time and started his Mayoralty fight in the fall of 1902. At that time he made known his aspirations to Stone, Stephen R. Mason and others of the organization leaders, of whom he was one at the time. He always claimed that he had been promised the organization support by Stone and Mason in the fall. Stone and Mason always declared that no such promise had ever been given, and that Mr. Wachter knew it.

Wachter at that time had as his advisers and political lieutenants William M. Stewart, George W. Padgett, William F. Broening, Henry J. Broening, Monitor Watchman and John B. Treibler. More important than any of these, however, was his friend John J. Hanson, now Sheriff of Baltimore.

Strong, popular and pleasant, Hanson was a tower of strength to Wachter. He it was who had managed every one of Wachter's Congressional fights, handling his money and keeping him from making many mistakes. Originally he was a Democrat, and he had never voted a Republican ticket until Wachter became a candidate for Congress.

After some weeks of fiddling and fooling Wachter finally became aware that Stone intended to oppose him for the nomination. Immediately the line between the two factions was sharply drawn and Wachter, with the aid of Hanson and Stewart, started in to effect an organization of his own all over the city. Wherever he could he broke into the regular organization lines and stole their men. The city committee had several stormy meetings. The majority of the executives were Stone men on the surface, but there were several open Wachterites. After one or two fights the Wachterites pulled out and their places were filled by Stone adherents. Wachter formed a campaign committee and opened headquarters. He also put a full ticket in the field, John Kronmiller, being made his candidate for Comptroller, and Robert L. Stevens his candidate for President of the

Second Branch. In every ward and district there was a Wachter candidate for the City Council.

In the meantime Stone was just as busy. He called a meeting of representative Republican business men, including Harry B. Wilcox, Reuben Foster, Isaac H. Dixon and others of that class, at the Rennert. This meeting unanimously indorsed William D. Platt as the organization candidate for the Mayoralty. Stone had arranged the meeting with his usual adroitness. Every man invited was known to be willing to indorse Platt beforehand, and was known to be against Wachter. Speeches were made and it was tried to demonstrate that behind Mr. Platt was the solid substantial citizenship of the Republican party in the city. The Wachter people saw the hand of Stone behind the meeting very clearly and did not hesitate to point it out. Wachter took the stump and made a whirlwind tour of the city, speaking in every ward two or three times. Sometimes his speeches got into print as they were delivered and sometimes they were revised before publication. Some of the things he said about Stone and the "custom-house ring" were too strong for publication, but a lot of them got in the papers and the Stone following fumed and raved.

Mr. Stone, however, had mapped out a policy for his candidates and made them adhere to it. He refused to let them reply to Wachter and himself treated all charges as not worth considering. This made Wachter madder than ever and he fairly made the air blue with his denunciation of the organization. Stone brought out George R. Heffner for Comptroller and E. Clay Timanus, then serving in the First Branch from the Thirteenth Ward, for President of the Second Branch.

Wachter and his friends attacked both of them and ridiculed Platt unmercifully. There was not much to Mr. Platt as a candidate. He was not popular, had no following or strength of his own, and was an exceedingly poor campaigner. No one disliked him very much, but no one cared very much about him. He lacked utterly personal magnetism. That was Wachter's strong card, and that kept the "boys" shouting for him all over the town. This was the campaign in which Wachter made the statement that if elected he "would take the hinges off the doors at the City Hall." This statement greatly grieved Charles J.

Bonaparte, who, in both the primaries and afterwards, opposed Mr. Wachter. Wachter never could speak of Bonaparte after that without swearing, and had in his time called him some picturesque names.

Senator McComas was very hostile to Wachter, and, while ostensibly keeping out of the fight, helped the Stone organization all he could. On the other hand Wachter had the enthusiastic support of Congressman Sydney E. Mudd and of "Uncle Bill" Jackson. It was generally believed at the time that Jackson contributed largely to his campaign fund. Mudd was anxious to defeat Stone, and believed if he could crush the organization in the city and elect an anti-Stone-anti-McComas man as Mayor, such as Wachter would have been, in the event of a Republican Legislature he could secure McComas' seat in the Senate, either for himself or for Mr. Jackson. The interest in the primary fight was thus State-wide.

The organization leaders up to the day before the primaries refused to concede him more than three wards in the city, and believed they had the fight won. When the votes were counted it was found that Wachter had swept the town, carrying 17 out of the 24 wards. Both of his running mates, however, went down to defeat. Wachter carried the first 10 wards in the city by big majorities and swamped the organization in some of its strongholds. He cared but little for the defeat of his running mates. They were merely necessary pawns in the game, put up to complete his ticket and that was all. His fight was for himself, and his victory was a great one. The Republican City Convention was held a few nights after the primaries at the Lyric, and the entire ticket—Wachter, Heffner and Timanus—was nominated unanimously and amid great enthusiasm. John V. L. Findlay made the speech nominating Mr. Wachter, and that genial gentleman, in accepting the nomination, got a reception that he probably remembered all of his life.

The fight that followed was a short but bitter one, and the result was so close as to be unsatisfactory. Following the election of McLane came the State fight of 1903, in which Edwin Warfield was elected Governor, and in the session of the Legislature of 1904 there occurred the memorable contest between Smith and Rayner for the Senate.

## CHAPTER XXX.

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### The Wachter-McLane Fight and the Treachery That Marked It.

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The McLane-Wachter campaign lasted a little less than three weeks, but there was never a minute in that time when the two parties were not fighting. There has probably never been a campaign in Baltimore in which the contrast between the two Mayoralty candidates was as great. Wachter, the loud-laughing, big-hearted, rough-and-ready, unpolished politician; McLane, the aristocratic, scholarly, refined, level-headed, well-balanced, high-minded gentleman—they were as different types as could have been found in a long day's search. Wachter was the smiling, hail fellow well met, "let's-have-a-drink" kind of citizen, whom every man he met liked and who liked nearly every man. McLane was suave, self-contained, courteous, quiet and agreeable.

All over town Wachter characterized him from the stump as the "silk-stockings" candidate, and with great heat denounced him as a member of the Maryland Club, far removed from the common people. Most of this was true. There was nothing common about McLane. He was a most uncommon man and gentleman, but he was every inch a man, and there was not about him a vestige of a snob. He was a decent, high-minded, likable fellow, with a fine mind and a real heart. If he had lived he would have made the best Mayor Baltimore ever had and would have given the city better government than it had either before or since. Also he would not have attempted to play politically to the galleries. He would not have been run by either the organization or the independents, but would have treated both fairly and squarely. That is what he did do in the year he was Mayor, and what he would have continued to do had he lived out his term.

As soon as the Republican primaries were over Wachter and Stone got together and a reconciliation was effected. Wachter insisted that William M. Stewart, John B. Treibler and others of his friends should have a part in the management of the campaign, and Stone was more than willing, but it was Stone who really directed the fight. To the credit of Mr. Stone, be it said, notwithstanding the charges later made by Mr. Wachter and his friends, he honestly did, all he could to bring about Wachter's election, and was absolutely on the square with him. There were some other Republican influences, however, that were not for him except upon the surface. Just before the election there appeared in the Baltimore American a front-page advertisement headed "McLane-Heffner-Timanus," and a long article in which Republicans were advised to vote for these three candidates. This advertisement set Wachter and his friends wild. They denounced the American and the organization, claimed that an effort was being made to sell them out and otherwise frantically protested. They never were able to discover who had inserted or paid for the advertisement, but Wachter always considered it as one of the things that had helped defeat him, and laid the blame on Merrill A. Teague, of the Baltimore American staff, who was also clerk of the Second Branch City Council.

After the primaries the Young Men's McLane League took headquarters at Charles and Saratoga streets. Ex-Governor Brown became its treasurer and financed the league. The State leaders pitched into the fight and McLane made an effective campaign all over the city. Most of the more influential of the men who supported Hayes in the primaries came to the front for McLane. James B. Guyton spoke at several meetings. John F. Williams presided and spoke for McLane and the ticket, and James P. Gorter worked and spoke for the ticket. Mr. Gorter had supported Hayes because he held the position of City Collector under him and felt that he could not do otherwise, but at heart he was an organization man.

Probably the biggest feature of this short campaign was the switching of the influence of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company from McLane to Wachter. To say that this created a sensation in political circles is to put it mildly. At this time the

late Morris A. Thomas, a brother of J. Sewell Thomas, was the confidential political representative of the Baltimore and Ohio Company. Morris Thomas had from the start been for McLane. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad influence was all for McLane in the primaries, just as the Western Maryland Railroad influence and the Fuller syndicate were generally supposed to be with Hayes. Morris Thomas was in consultation during the primary fight with Governor Smith and with McLane himself. He had the confidence of both and did important confidential work. He tried, incidentally, to bring about the nomination of Guyton and Smith with McLane, but failed in this, and after the nomination was an enthusiastic McLane man. Everything went well up to within a week before the election. The Baltimore and Ohio influence in a fight was in those days well worth having. It meant many votes and, this being prior to the Corrupt Practices act, a large contribution to the campaign fund.

About six days before the election Senator Gorman, who had been in New York, came to Baltimore, went up to the Hotel Rennert and sent for Mr. Rasin. To Rasin he told the news that the Baltimore and Ohio had deserted McLane and was for Wachter. Rasin told "Billy" Porter, who had charge of the headquarters in the Calvert Building, as secretary to the committee of seven, of which Mr. D. H. Thomas was chairman. Thence the news spread. In the morning the report that the influence of the road was to be thrown to Wachter was published in *THE SUN*. Morris Thomas the next day furiously denied it. He went to McLane and to Governor Smith and declared it to be a lie. They both looked on him with suspicion, but suspended judgment. The next day Daniel J. Loden, who always kept in close touch with the Mount Clare Shops of the road, brought to Mr. Rasin and to headquarters absolute confirmation that the road had already begun to send the word down the line among its employees there to be for Wachter.

That settled it. Morris Thomas threw aside all pretense, and came out openly for Wachter, and from then until the close of the fight was the confidential adviser at the Wachter headquarters. Had it not been for the tip given by Mr. Gorman, Thomas could have continued in the confidence of Governor Smith and

McLane up to the last moment, and might probably have brought about the defeat of the ticket. As a result of this incident Morris and Sewell Thomas, his brother, quarreled violently, and it was not until long afterward that they made up.

Not only did the Wachter forces have Baltimore and Ohio money, but there is no question but that they were supplied with considerable cash by "Bill" Jackson, who at this time entertained strong Senatorial aspirations and believed the election of Wachter would help him realize them. The Democrats, too, had plenty of money. Governor Smith was a liberal contributor, and the State people generally pitched in and helped swell the campaign fund. Roger W. Cull was the independent Democrat who took a prominent part in the campaign in behalf of Wachter. Nearly every other man who was prominent as an independent came out for McLane. Mr. Cull supported Wachter and made a great speech, urging his election at the Lyric at the close of the campaign.

The Reform League in this fight cut a right foolish figure. Mr. Bonaparte did not want to support Wachter, and yet it rasped him a lot to think of Democratic success. There were various meetings of the executive committee, at which there was considerable straddling done. Messrs. Venable and Bruce, both of them then members of the committee, insisted that if the league proposed to investigate the records of Gephart and Hooper it also investigate Heffner and Timanus, and not make the investigation one-sided. In the end, the league practically did nothing, indorsing neither McLane nor Wachter. Marbury, Bruce, Rayner and others spoke for McLane, while Gaither, Putzel, McComas, J. Stuart McDonald and Cull were on the stump for Wachter.

It was a short but sharp campaign, in which many canards and false alarms were sprung. The election was held on May 5 and McLane's official majority was 520. Heffner was elected by 739 and Timanus by 2,018. Both of McLane's running mates—Hooper and Gephart—went down to defeat, because of the special fight made against them as Rasin men. Of course, Wachter and his friends claimed that the Republican organization sold him out, and had made a deal by which it had saved the two

Stone men on the ticket and let him go. The facts do not seem to bear this out.

Wachter and his friends also charged "fraud" against the Democrats with loud voices. They declared that every known political trick had been turned to beat him; that he had been deliberately counted out; that ballots had been purposely torn and purposely spoiled by judges wearing lead rings, with which they defaced the tickets. Immediately, he filed notice of a contest against McLane, employing Roger W. Cull, William Pinkney Whyte, Lewis Putzel, George R. Gaither, Morris A. Soper and Thomas Ireland Elliott as counsel. McLane, to defend himself, had as counsel Bernard Carter, John P. Poe and William Cabell Bruce.

The day after the election some excitement was created through the discovery of George N. Lewis, James W. Lewis and the notorious Democratic negro, "Tom" Smith, in the back room of the Supervisors of Elections office with the ballot boxes. Charges that they were attempting to tamper with the ballots were loudly made and there was much of a furor. The truth about the matter, was simply this: "Tom" Smith was always employed by the Democratic organization on election day to keep negroes away from the polls. Sometimes he was able to keep 50 and sometimes as many as 150. He was always paid so much per negro for everyone whom he kept away. The day after election "Tom" Smith, with his list of voters, came down town, and George and "Jim" Lewis were checking the names off from the registration books, which showed whether or not those negroes had voted. Not a very creditable proceeding, but that was the truth.

There were four precincts from which there were no returns, the judges being unable to agree and refusing to sign. Under the opinion of Mr. Bernard Carter, counsel to the board, the Supervisors declined to count these precincts and ordered the boxes sealed and put away. After weeks and weeks of agitation, and long after McLane had been inaugurated, the Court ordered a count of these four precincts. It was believed by Wachter's friends that this count would show the "defaced" ballots and other things claimed by them, as well as reduce McLane's plurality. The count was made in the Southwestern Police Station,

by the counsel on both sides. No fraud was disclosed and the net result was to slightly increase McLane's vote. After that there was no more talk of contest. There may have been fraud in this election; there probably is some in nearly every election, but it is very doubtful whether it was sufficient to affect the result one way or the other.

The City Council elected with McLane was as follows:

#### SECOND BRANCH.

Districts—(1) John Hubert, Democrat; (2) Edwin C. Livingston, Democrat; (3) George Stewart Brown, Democrat; (4) B. Frank Kelly, Republican.

#### FIRST BRANCH.

Wards—(1) George Konig, Democrat; (2) William B. Smith, Democrat; (3) William H. Weissager, Republican; (4) Louis D. Greene, Democrat; (5) Joseph Seidenman, Republican; (6) Stephen C. Little, Democrat; (7) James Davis, Democrat; (8) John H. Hall, Democrat; (9) Anthony G. Watson, Democrat; (10) Bernard J. Lee, Democrat; (11) Duke Bond, Democrat; (12) J. Barry Mahool, Democrat; (13) Roger T. Gill, Democrat; (14) Bushrod M. Watts, Democrat; (15) Beverly W. Smith, Democrat; (16) Evan H. Morgan, Democrat; (17) Hiram Watty, Republican; (18) Harry W. Nice, Republican; (19) William W. Radcliffe, Democrat; (20) C. Albert Kollmeyer, Republican; (21) Andrew J. Utz, Republican; (22) Albert M. Sproesser, Republican; (23) Charles H. Heintzman, Republican; (24) Henry J. C. Hoffman, Democrat.

By this it will be seen that while the President of the Second Branch and the Comptroller of the new administration were Republicans, the City Council in both branches was Democratic, and on joint ballot the Democrats had nineteen and the Republicans 14 votes. This made it possible for the Democrats to elect a City Register. Right after the new members of the Council were sworn in the subject came up for consideration by the

Democratic leaders. John Hannibal, who had regarded Harry F. Hooper, the defeated candidate for Comptroller as a sort of protege and who felt sorry for him, went to Mr. Rasin and urged that Hooper be named. Rasin told Hannibal, in the presence of two other men, that he could have the place for himself if he wanted it. Hannibal insisted that it ought to go to Hooper; that Hooper had made a good fight for Comptroller and that he would rather see him get it. Rasin agreed. The word was passed down the line and that night the Council met and Hooper got every Democratic vote and was elected. When the news of his election reached him he was in Mr. Hannibal's office and was so overcome with gratitude that he wept. At the time he took office his friends in the Sixth ward were jubilant over their success in making him, and he was extremely popular with them. In a very short while he fell out with Hannibal. Then he fell out with "Jim" Lewis and Emil Goetzke, and it was not long before the people over in the ward who had been most enthusiastic for him were heartily cursing him. Almost from the time he was elected he broke off his friendship with Hannibal and ceased going to his office. His former friends in the ward said that prosperity had proved too much for him, and that he had a "swelled head." Whatever the cause, it is certain that a very short time after he became City Register Hooper lost most of his old political friends in the Sixth ward and began to train with an entirely different crowd.

Soon after his inauguration Mayor McLane began to have trouble with his appointments. All the old regulars who had been out in the cold during the four years of the Hayes administration were clamoring for office. They besieged "Old Man" Rasin until he was nearly frantic, and they thronged the City Hall. McLane desired to make good his promises during the campaign that he would appoint none but Democrats to office, and that if the organization would put good men up to him they should have the preference. He carried this out to the letter. Further than this, he recognized Mr. Rasin as the organization head and conferred with him. In order to shift the burden off his own shoulders, however, Mr. Rasin did not hesitate to tell his followers, "I can't do anything with that fellow, McLane. He is going to be another Hayes. He has thrown the organization

down. I have no influence with him." This relieved the "Old Man" a good deal, but it made the burden harder for McLane.

Most of McLane's appointments were perfectly satisfactory to Rasin. Some of them were not, but he had no just cause of complaint. He was perfectly satisfied with the appointment of Henry Williams for City Collector. The reappointment of Edward D. Preston as Building Inspector was exactly what he wanted. He indorsed the appointment of Wilbur F. Coyle for City Librarian, and he was satisfied with the reappointment of McCuen as Superintendent of Lamps and Lighting. He did not want City Engineer B. T. Fendall reappointed, and did all he could to prevent it, but he failed. McLane insisted upon reappointing him and did so, chiefly for William L. Marbury, whose influence it has been that has kept Mr. Fendall in office every time a fight has been made against him, and who secured his appointment from Hayes in the first place.

McLane was anxious not to reappoint Water Engineer Quick, and would have named in his place any good man whom the organization put up. The trouble was that the organization had no candidate for the place possessing the charter qualifications to fill it. After waiting to the last minute in the hope of getting the right man for the place, McLane was finally forced to reappoint Quick, although those who were in close touch with him knew that he did so very reluctantly. Street Cleaning Commissioner Wickes was one of the few personal appointments made by McLane. The organization would have very much liked to have had this place, as it carried with it more small laboring places than any other. It was, however, the intention of McLane to see that the organization got these places, and he was carrying out this policy when he died.

This brings the story up to the Warfield-Williams campaign for Governor, the Rayner-Smith fight for the Senatorship and the first of the suffrage amendments intended to disfranchise the illiterate negro voter.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

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### The Warfield-Williams Campaign and How Each Came to be Nominated.

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In the political history of Maryland the campaign of 1903 that resulted in the election of Edwin Warfield as Governor and of Isidor Rayner as United States Senator stands out as an epoch-making battle. There were elected in that year for the first time since Senator A. P. Gorman became the acknowledged leader of his party in Maryland a Democratic Governor who cut loose from him politically and personally and a Democratic Legislature that failed to do his bidding when called upon.

The combination of the two hurt Mr. Gorman's prestige as nothing else had, and destroyed the faith of his followers in his absolute political infallibility and power. It marked the one and the only time in their long and close association, covering more than a generation, in which Gorman and Rasin did not work together in complete understanding and harmony. In the Rayner-Smith fight for the Senatorship Rasin deceived Mr. Gorman from the start. He played him from the beginning, and at the end went squarely back upon the final agreement made in Senator Gorman's Washington home, on K street, two nights before Mr. Rayner's nomination in the Democratic caucus at Annapolis.

There had been numerous conferences at the Gorman house during the progress of the fight at which all elements, at one time or another, were represented. There had been "gentlemen's agreements" reached upon more than one occasion that had not held, and there had been various "understandings" that later proved to be "misunderstandings." This conference was unlike any of the others. It was exclusive and supposed to be final. The situation at Annapolis had reached a point where Mr. Gorman saw it had to be ended. Only four men

were present at this conference. They were Senator A. P. Gorman, Sr., State Senator A. P. Gorman, Jr., State Treasurer Murray Vandiver and I. Freeman Rasin. An absolute agreement was there reached that the candidacy of Mr. Bernard Carter was to be dropped and that the heretofore divided organization forces were to center in caucus Monday night and nominate John Walter Smith. Rasin agreed absolutely to this, and gave the number of votes in the city delegation which he could swing to the Smith banner. He went directly back to Annapolis and threw his following to Mr. Rayner, playing the game in such a way that Mr. Vandiver and State Senator Gorman, as well as Smith's friends, with one or two exceptions, who did not trust him, were fooled up to the very moment the caucus assembled. There was no period of the fight, it is believed, when Gorman and Rasin together could not have elected Smith. Rasin deceived Gorman and they both deceived Smith. When finally Gorman came back to Smith as the only solution of the situation, Rasin pulled the wool over his eyes and let him in for the most crushing defeat of his career. The inside story of the election of Isidor Rayner to the Senate is one of cold-blooded treachery and deceit almost unbelievable. Money also played a big part in the result. While up to this last conference Gorman had never been for Smith, there is not a shadow of a doubt that at that time he determined to end it by electing him, and that his betrayal by Rasin was an awful shock.

Before going into the details of the Rayner-Smith fight it will be necessary to tell the story of the candidacy and campaign of Edwin Warfield, who was the Governor at the time. Mr. Warfield had been for years a political and personal friend of Senator Gorman, and when in 1899 he aspired to the Democratic Gubernatorial nomination he thought he was entitled to Mr. Gorman's support. Mr. Gorman did not see it that way, and his friends fell in line behind John Walter Smith, who became the candidate. Mr. Warfield felt his defeat keenly, and it can be stated truthfully that from that time on his feeling toward Mr. Gorman changed. He was no longer a Gorman man. He announced his candidacy again in 1901—a year and a half before the campaign—and did so without consulting anyone.

Between the time of his announcement and of his nomination he saw Mr. Gorman but once, and spoke to him only once in connection with his candidacy, although everyone recognized that if Mr. Gorman were against him he could not be nominated any more in 1903 than he could in 1899. This occasion was during the spring of 1903, when one day Mr. Gorman went into the office of the Fidelity and Deposit Company to send a cablegram to his daughter in London congratulating her upon the birth of a son. He went into Mr. Warfield's office and the two men talked about different things. Finally Mr. Warfield said: "Senator Gorman, a great many of my friends have asked me how you feel toward my candidacy for Governor. I have told them that in view of our long friendship I had no doubt at all that I could count upon your support."

Senator Gorman listened to this but made no reply. He never did reply; he merely changed the subject and went out, leaving Mr. Warfield in exactly the same position he was before he came in.

Soon after this Mr. Gorman made his only trip abroad. He went away without letting anyone know how he viewed Mr. Warfield's candidacy or whom he favored for the nomination. While he was away, yielding to the pressure of a good many friends, Col. Spencer C. Jones, of Montgomery county, came out as a candidate for the nomination, and developed considerable strength in various parts of the State. None of the politicians, in either county or city, connected with the organization desired Mr. Warfield. Practically all of them preferred Colonel Jones. Yet the undoubted public sentiment behind Mr. Warfield could not be ignored, and it was recognized that it would be a risky business to turn him down again. Mr. Warfield pursued his campaign steadily and gained strength all the time Mr. Gorman was away. Those who did not like him did everything they could to head him off and besought Mr. Rasin to turn the city organization over to Colonel Jones. Rasin wanted Jones, but declined absolutely to take the responsibility of defeating Warfield, arguing that it would mean the defeat of the city ticket at the general election. He said that this was Gorman's fight, and that Gorman would have to shoulder the burden.

Finally Mr. Gorman returned from Europe. The situation was laid before him by his friends, and, while he never openly made a declaration for Warfield, the word went swiftly down the line that the party would nominate him. Had Gorman and Rasin chosen, there is no question that they could have beaten Mr. Warfield out of the nomination again, but in doing so they would in all probability have beaten the whole ticket at the general election, because of the strength of Mr. Warfield with the people. The rank and file plainly and unmistakably wanted him as the candidate, and to nominate any other man would have been dangerous. After Gorman's return nothing more was heard of the Jones' candidacy, and Warfield got the nomination without a struggle.

He was nominated at Music Hall on September 16, his name being placed before the convention by Joseph S. Tracey, of Howard county. Mr. Gorman had been elected one of the delegates to the convention from Howard county, and Mr. Warfield was anxious to have him there to make a speech for him. Mr. Gorman, however, absented himself and took no open part in the fight until the close of the campaign. On the ticket with Mr. Warfield were nominated William Shepard Bryan, Jr., as the candidate for Attorney-General, and Dr. Gordon T. Atkinson, of Somerset county, for Comptroller. Isaac Lobe Straus, prior to the convention, had made an earnest effort to land the Attorney-Generalship nomination, but was turned down by the State leaders as a punishment for his revolt against them at the session of the Legislature of 1902. The Comptrollership was offered Joshua W. Miles, and also to Ex-Gov. E. E. Jackson, both of whom declined. Miles finally induced Senator Gorman to accept Dr. Atkinson, of whom at the time few persons outside of Somerset county, had heard. The platform contained a ringing declaration upon the subject of white supremacy and a pledge that if given control of the Legislature the Democrats would take steps to eliminate the ignorant and vicious negro vote. The ticket and the platform had the united support of a harmonious party, and the Democrats never went into a campaign under more favorable conditions.

In the Republican camp, however, dissensions had split the party pretty badly. A combination of Sydney E. Mudd, William H. Jackson, Frank C. Wachter and the late Lloyd Lowndes sought the overthrow of Senator Louis E. McComas, then the State leader, with an alliance between him and Collector William F. Stone, the city leader. A bitter preliminary campaign was waged, but in the primaries the McComas-Stone forces overwhelmed the combination, and by a big margin controlled the State convention. This was the ticket nominated:

For Governor—Stevenson A. Williams.

For Comptroller—L. E. P. Dennis.

For Attorney-General—George Whitelock.

In Mr. Williams, the Republicans had picked what a great many people considered the biggest and best man in their party in the State. His high character, acknowledged ability, fine record and charming personality ought to have made him an ideal candidate. The platform upon which he ran, from a Republican standpoint, was a strong one, and the campaign he made an unusually vigorous and effective one. His speech of acceptance, made in a little hall on Fayette street, was far and away the best speech of the campaign, and throughout the fight he had the better of the argument. Warfield's personal popularity and strength, together with the Normal Democratic majority and the power of the white supremacy appeal, however, made the Republican fight a hopeless one.

After Mr. Williams' nomination the warring factions apparently united behind him. Congressman George A. Pearre presided over the convention and Congressman Mudd made one of the speeches. Mr. Williams early satisfied the element that had been against him in the primaries by making it clear that he was not under the influence of Senator McComas, and that that gentleman was running neither him nor his campaign. Some dissatisfaction was created by his insistence upon the election of John B. Hanna as State chairman in place of P. L. Goldsborough. Mr. Hanna had had practically but little experience in politics and was regarded with contempt by leaders like Mudd, who made all manner of fun of him and his methods. Still it was recognized as Mr. Williams' right to have his own man conduct the campaign

and a grudging acquiescence was given in his choice. Mr. Hanna as chairman, in this and subsequent campaigns made a fine record and his selection was a fortunate thing for his party.

In Baltimore the situation on both sides was complicated by the fight for local places. The Democratic city ticket was as follows:

State's Attorney—Albert S. J. Owens.

Sheriff—Eugene E. Grannan.

Register of Wills—Bart E. Smith.

Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas—Adam Deupert.

Clerk of the Criminal Court—Sam W. Pattison.

Clerk of the Circuit Court—Max Ways.

City Surveyor—Raleigh C. Thomas.

Judges of the Orphans' Court—Myer J. Block, W. J. O'Brien and Harry C. Gaither.

The Republican city ticket was:

State's Attorney—Morris A. Soper.

Sheriff—William H. Green.

Register of Wills—George F. Jones.

Clerk of the Criminal Court—R. Holmes Wilbur.

Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas—James H. Livingston.

Clerk of the Circuit Court—Dr. Joseph Hart.

Judges of the Orphans' Court—Riley E. Wright, David W. Jones and Moses Pels.

City Surveyor—William T. Manning.

It was in this campaign that one of the bitterest primary struggles that ever took place in Baltimore county occurred, in the contest for the Senatorial nomination between Milton W. Offutt and John S. Biddison. Congressman J. F. C. Talbott supported Biddison, while Offutt had the support of Walter R. Townsend and other men usually with Mr. Talbott. Mr. Townsend, however, really made the fight for him, and the defeat of Mr. Offutt left some mighty sore spots which took a long time in healing. James E. Ingram was the Republican candidate for the State Senate in Baltimore county, and Mr. Robert Garrett was one of the Republican candidates for the House of Delegates, this being the first campaign he had made. Mr. Roger W. Cull supported the Republican ticket and in a memorable speech at the Lyric compared Gorman and Rasin to "skilled burglars," denounced

"Bill" Garland as "the brute of the Third ward," and said that Governor Smith was his "partner in crime." It was in this campaign, too, that the late Judge James McSherry came up for re-election and had a tremendous fight, pulling through by a scant 500 votes, notwithstanding the demand for his retention on the Court of Appeals bench by practically the whole Maryland bar, regardless of political affiliation.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

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### The Real Story of the Smith-Rayner Fight for the Senatorship in the Legislature of 1904.

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A few days before the election of 1903 there was a conference of Democratic leaders at the Rennert, at which both Edwin Warfield and I. Freeman Rasin were present. This was the only time during the whole campaign that Mr. Warfield and Mr. Rasin had got in the same room together. They had never liked each other, and Rasin was one of the few men who were not surprised at the "throw down" given the organization by Mr. Warfield after the election. He saw it coming and said so.

At this conference Rasin made the statement that the Baltimore and Ohio influence was against Warfield and that the "word" had been sent out to that effect. To this Mr. Warfield warmly replied that he did not care how much "word" had been sent out or who had sent it; that he knew the bulk of the employees of the road were for him, and would vote for him regardless of pressure. At the time the Baltimore and Ohio influence was with the Republican ticket. Just before the election it changed. Rasin always claimed he was responsible for the change, and that without it Warfield's majority would have been much smaller. Mr. Warfield thought Rasin's statement was made with the view of frightening him into putting up more money for the campaign. The election gave Warfield a majority of more than 12,000, and all the Democratic city candidates except Grannan were chosen. The Democrats elected more than a three-fifths majority in the Legislature and swept the State from one end to the other. Grannan was defeated by William H. Green for Sheriff, because of the cutting by the friends of John T. Couglar, whom he had beaten for the nomination.

The members of the Legislature of 1904 who went in with Governor Warfield were as follows:

## SENATE.

Anne Arundel—Luther H. Gadd, Democrat.  
Baltimore City—James Young, Democrat; Clarence W. Perkins, Democrat; John Gill, Democrat; John W. Thomas, Republican.  
Baltimore County—John S. Biddison, Democrat.  
Calvert—L. McK. Griffith, Republican.  
Carroll—Johnzie E. Beasman, Democrat.  
Frederick—D. M. Devilbiss, Republican.  
Garrett—N. G. Palmer, Republican.  
Howard—Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., Democrat.  
Kent—Garrett Foxwell, Democrat.  
Queen Anne's—James E. Kirwan, Democrat.  
Somerset—S. Frank Dashiell, Democrat.  
Washington—B. Abner Betts, Democrat.  
Wicomico—Marion V. Brewington, Democrat.  
Allegany—David J. Lewis, Democrat.  
Caroline—Harry A. Roe, Republican.  
Cecil—Henry M. McCullough, Republican.  
Charles—George T. C. Gray, Republican.  
Dorchester—William F. Applegarth, Democrat.  
Garrett—Robert A. Ravenscroft, Republican.  
Harford—Thomas H. Robinson, Democrat.  
Montgomery—Spencer C. Jones, Democrat.  
Prince George's—Joseph S. Wilson, Democrat.  
St. Mary's—James J. Greenwell, Democrat.  
Talbot—Robert B. Dixon, Republican.  
Worcester—John P. Moore, Democrat.

## HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Allegany County—John J. Stump, William J. Feaga, William J. Jenkins, John H. Loar, Matthew Longbridge, Republicans.  
Anne Arundel—Enoch W. Downs, John M. Loman, Frank M. Duval, James O. Atwell, Democrats.  
Baltimore City—(First Legislative District)—Henry A. Bosse,

Dr. Louis Becker, M. D. H. Lipman, W. H. W. Reed, Charles T. Evans, William I. Norris, Democrats.

(Second Legislative District)—Henry Trager, William L. Orem, R. E. Lee Hall, G. C. Morrison, J. L. V. Murphy, Louis J. Roth, Democrats.

(Third Legislative District)—C. J. Bouchet, J. C. Linthicum, George W. Moore, J. A. Dawkins, Chas. W. Grant, James O. Durham, Democrats.

(Fourth Legislative District)—William H. Pairo, James E. Godwin, Daniel A. Lock, A. E. Miller, Charles W. Bald, W. G. Henkel, Republicans.

Baltimore County—George Y. Everhart, C. E. Fitzsimmons, Allen Stevenson, Joshua H. Cockey, Carville D. Benson, John Green, Democrats.

Calvert—Benson B. D. Bond, Oliver D. Simmons, Republicans.

Caroline—Edward E. Goslin, Monroe M. Willey, Democrats.

Carroll—Jesse W. Fuss, James D. Haines, Azariah F. Oursler, Joseph H. Kain, Democrats.

Cecil—William T. Fryer, Samuel J. Keys, Democrats; Cecil Kirk, Republican.

Charles—J. DeB. Walbach, G. H. Smoot, Republicans.

Dorchester—Dr. E. A. P. Jones, C. M. Wingate, W. D. Hopkins, J. H. Murphy, Republicans.

Frederick—Eugene L. Harrison, William H. Harry, Philip L. Hiteshew, L. D. Crawford, James W. Smith, Republicans.

Garrett—Elliot C. Harvey, R. A. C. Howard, Republicans.

Harford—George W. McComas, D. H. Carroll of P., Thomas Hitchcock, Charles A. Andrew, Democrats.

Howard—James W. Pearre, Matthew H. Gill, Democrats.

Kent—Isaac Gibbs, Cecil R. Atkinson, Democrats.

Montgomery—John W. Williams, Edmund L. Amiss, Walter A. Johnston, Benj. F. Lansdale, Democrats.

Prince George's—Dr. R. S. Hill, Michael J. Tighe, Robert W. Wells, J. Enos Ray, Jr., Democrats.

Queen Anne's—William R. Wilson, C. W. Butler, Charles R. Walls, Democrats.

Somerset—L. M. Milbourne, Edward S. Miles, Lloyd Riggin, Democrats.

St. Mary's—George L. Buckler, Democrat; W. T. Wilkinson, Republican.

Talbot—William Collins, Richard S. Dodson, William J. Jackson, Democrats.

Washington—B. Mitchell, Jr., Palmer Tennant, Democrats; Harry E. Baker, Abner B. Bingham, B. F. Charles, Republicans.

Wicomico—L. Atwood Bennett, G. Ernest Hearn, H. James Messick, Democrats.

Worcester—Samuel K. Dennis, William G. Kerbin, W. Lee Carey, Democrats.

The Rayner fight began before the election. Mr. Rayner, after much preliminary sparring, announced his candidacy on September 22. John Walter Smith had been a candidate since the session of 1902, when Mr. Gorman was elected. Had he chosen to avail himself of proffered Republican support, Smith could have gone to the Senate then. So could his partner and friend, Gen. Francis E. Waters, to whom was made a similar offer. Both Governor Smith and General Waters refused to consider the proposals made to them, and Mr. Gorman knew it. After his election he gave to Governor Smith an unequivocal promise of support, and told him and his friends that he looked forward to having him as his colleague in the Senate two years later. Smith and his friends regarded it as settled. They felt that all they had to do was to work to insure a Democratic Legislature in 1904. Both Gorman and Rasin had personally pledged themselves to Smith voluntarily and unequivocally, not once, but upon numerous occasions.

No trouble with Mr. Rasin was anticipated. While he had been aggrieved over the first batch of Smith's appointments, he had apparently been satisfied with the next—and he ought to have been. He led Governor Smith to believe he was absolutely for him, and no one suspected the vindictive purpose deep down in him that Smith should never go to the Senate. When Rayner announced his candidacy, Smith's friends were not greatly worried. They felt secure in the pledges given by Gorman and Rasin and in their ability to "deliver the goods." Also, they knew that neither Mr. Gorman nor Mr. Rasin had the slightest liking personally or politically for Mr. Rayner. Then THE SUN took

up Rayner's cause, and strongly backed up his demand for pledges from the Democratic Legislative candidates in the city. From that time on Rayner became a formidable factor.

The fight made for him by THE SUN created a tremendous sentiment for him throughout the State, and day after day he got stronger. Professing all the while to be hostile to Rayner, and for Smith, Rasin permitted the city candidates to pledge themselves to Rayner upon the ground that because of the fight THE SUN was making for him failure to do so would beat the whole ticket. Smith and his friends unsuspectingly accepted this explanation. The fight began to get hot, with Rayner arousing the State with his eloquence and THE SUN thundering editorially and locally in his behalf. Smith had no newspaper support.

Still Smith's friends sat back in confident security. Walter R. Townsend, next to Talbott the strongest politician in Baltimore county, enlisted in Rayner's cause, and through him three of the Baltimore county candidates—Allen Stevenson, John Green and C. E. Fitzsimmons—declared for Rayner. Still Mr. Talbott himself was violently against Rayner, and the balance of the delegation were Mr. Gorman's, to do with what he pleased. The Smith people, knowing the votes Governor Smith himself controlled, and the number Rasin and Gorman could control, had no real doubt of his success. Then the Rayner petitions in the counties were started, Rayner mass-meetings held and the signatures of thousands of voters obtained requesting their representatives to vote for Rayner.

It was about this time that Ex-Governor E. E. Jackson, unquestionably inspired by Mr. Rasin, who throughout was his political adviser, announced his candidacy for the Senate. This was followed—after the election—by a similar announcement by Joshua W. Miles. This meant that the votes of Wicomico and Somerset on the Eastern Shore would not be for Smith in the caucus, but they had never been counted by the Smith people, anyhow, because of the antagonism that had existed between these two leaders and Smith since 1900.

Gorman and Rasin first showed their hands as against Smith about two weeks before the Legislature assembled, when they turned down William Collins, of Talbot county, the Smith can-

dicate for Speaker, and settled upon Dr. George V. Everhart, of Baltimore county. It was not clearly realized then, but everybody saw later that had Gorman and Rasin not been against Smith at that time they would have made Collins Speaker. The determination to make Everhart Speaker was reached at a private conference between Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin alone. Rasin went over to Washington and saw Gorman at his home. When he returned the word went out for Everhart. Still Governor Smith could not believe that he had been "thrown down" by the men upon whose word he depended.

The Legislature met, and then came the candidacy of Mr. Bernard Carter. Those who know most about the facts believe that it was Rasin who induced Gorman to break away from Smith. They say that Rasin convinced Mr. Gorman that Smith could not be nominated, and that the only hope of defeating Rayner was to bring out as a candidate some big Baltimore lawyer of such high standing and character that he would be justified in switching the city's delegates away from their Rayner pledges. Bernard Carter was naturally the man decided upon, and it was Gorman who induced him to go into the fight after convincing him there was no hope for Smith.

On January 16, after Gorman and Rasin had agreed upon this plan, a conference was held at Senator Gorman's home, at which were present Gorman leaders from all over the State, but no representatives either of Smith or Rayner. At this conference were present, too, Ex-Governor Jackson and Mr. Miles. It was supposed to be a very secret affair. It was agreed that Smith could not be elected and that Rayner should not be. Then the Carter candidacy was laid before the leaders and an understanding reached that on Monday night at the caucus the name of Mr. Carter was to be put in nomination. The organization forces, including those of Miles and Jackson, were to be swung to Carter. Mr. Gorman and Mr. Gorman's friends doubted not for a moment that he would be chosen exactly in the way "Charlie" Gibson had been chosen. They felt sure that as soon as the "word" went out the Rayner and Smith forces would crumble, there would be a wild leap for the band wagon and it would be all over. Probably it would have been if, as planned, the Carter

candidacy had been kept secret until sprung in the caucus, but Mr. Gorman failed to count upon two things—one was the double game being played by Rasin and the other the power of publicity.

Within two hours after the conference broke out the program decided upon was known and the story of the gathering was published in full in THE SUN Sunday morning. Governor Smith and his friends were stunned. They quickly woke up to the fact that they had been betrayed, and instead of collapsing started in to fight. On Monday morning THE SUN followed up the story with an article headed "Carter's Election a Commercial Calamity," with interviews and editorials. Those two days of publicity caused the whole Gorman plan to collapse. He might have put it through if certain gentlemen who were in the secret conference had not given it away.

On Monday afternoon Mr. Carter publicly announced his candidacy. His son, Charles H. Carter, came to Annapolis to represent his father, and the State House was in a turmoil. The caucus met with the Smith people desperate but determined. The Gorman plan had been to obtain a secret vote in the caucus. Smith's friends went in with the determination to force an adjournment without action, and they succeeded by combining with the Rayner forces. Senator John P. Moore made the motion to adjourn and it was carried. The Gorman leaders were "up in the air." They realized that someone had betrayed the conference, but they could not locate the man, and never did. The next day the first ballot for Senator was taken in the open joint session and resulted as follows:

Rayner, 35; Smith, 29; Carter, 9; Jackson, 5; Miles, 4; Warfield, 2; McComas, 38; Judge J. B. Henderson, 2.

Those who voted for Mr. Carter were Senators Robinson, of Harford; Biddison, of Baltimore county; Beaseman, of Carroll; Perkins, of Baltimore city; Jones, of Montgomery, and Delegates Everhart, Benson and Cockey, of Baltimore county, and Hill, of Prince George's. Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., cast his ballot for Edwin Warfield, as did also Gill, of Howard county. Miles got the four votes from Somerset and Jackson the four from Wicomico, with the additional vote of Senator Applegarth, of Dorchester. All the other Democrats voted for Smith and Rayner.

On the next ballot Gorman and Gill changed to Carter, making his total 11, which was the highest he received in the fight. Senator Perkins had pledged himself to Rayner, and his violation of the pledge caused an outburst of indignation.

Then Mr. Rasin went to Annapolis and took charge of the situation. For days he stayed there while the newspapers screamed with denunciation, and citizens of Baltimore seriously talked of organizing to compel him by force to leave the State House. He took up quarters in the Speaker's room, and from there directed the fight. After the break-up of the first caucus Governor Smith and Gen. Francis E. Waters went over to Washington and saw Senator Gorman. Senator Gorman explained that Smith could not be elected because certain delegations would not vote for him. General Waters emphatically denied this, and showed Mr. Gorman that with the votes he had swung to Carter Smith could easily win. He recalled to Mr. Gorman his promises to Governor Smith and asked him if he meant to keep them, and to send for the Senators he said would not vote for Smith, and in his presence ask them whether that was not the very thing they wanted to do if he would let them. Senator Gorman said that was what Rasin had told him, but that he had evidently been misled. He agreed to send for the Senators mentioned.

General Waters and Governor Smith went back to Annapolis and waited for developments. None came and the situation remained unchanged. Another caucus was held, but it was also fruitless. Mr. Carter retained his 11 votes, but got no more, and both Smith and Rayner held their forces intact. Then an invitation came from Senator Gorman for another conference to be held on January 23 at the Shoreham in Washington. Smith declined to go. He was asked again and then requested General Waters to go and represent him. At that time he had made an agreement with Jackson, which the latter afterwards broke but to which Smith stood. He sent word he would not attend the conference unless Jackson also were invited. Gorman insisted upon his coming, and finally Smith asked General Waters to attend and represent both him and Jackson. General Waters reluctantly agreed. At this conference nearly every county as well as the city was represented by its Democratic leader. The situa-

tion was gone over. Everybody there was against Rayner. It was shown that Carter could not win and that neither Miles nor Jackson had a chance. General Waters asked that a vote be taken of those present. One was taken and Smith had the conference unanimously, Mr. Rasin alone not voting. It was then agreed that Mr. Carter, who was present, should retire as a candidate and Smith should be chosen. The votes were canvassed and enough were in hand to elect him, counting those whom Rasin could swing in the city delegation. A "gentleman's agreement" was entered into and the conference broke up. Rasin remained at the Gorman house an hour after all the others had left, returning late to Baltimore.

Again the Smith people regarded it as settled. The next day was Sunday. In the morning Mr. Carter called Governor Smith by telephone and made an appointment with him. It then transpired that circumstances were such that Mr. Carter could not retire. His friends insisted upon his staying in, and the "gentleman's agreement" was off. Smith and his friends went down to Annapolis the next day determined to keep on fighting.

There was another week of turmoil and strife, and then Mr. Gorman determined to end the thing finally. He sent for Rasin and Murray Vandiver to come to Washington. These two, and his son, Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., conferred at his home. Rasin agreed to switch his city delegation in the next caucus to Smith. Carter was to be dropped absolutely. The thing was to be ended. Vandiver and Arthur Gorman came back to Annapolis jubilant. Rasin had finally pledged himself for Smith to Senator Gorman, and while he had deceived others, he had never yet deceived Senator Gorman. Such was their belief. Smith and his friends were told by Vandiver and Gorman of the result. A caucus call was sent out, and all day Monday they thought at last the victory was in their grasp. Rasin, inscrutable and silent, was in the Speaker's room and at Carvel Hall. Some of Smith's friends did not quite trust him, after having been twice bungoed. They had Vandiver and Arthur Gorman separately to go to him during the day for reassurance. Each went away with the statement that it was absolutely all right, and that Rasin would give the word out just before the caucus.

Early in the day Ex-Governor Jackson, who had been at An-

napolis from the start, silently folded his tent and went home, leaving his votes in the hands of Mr. Rasin. Joshua Miles did the same thing. Early in the afternoon Rasin sent for Senator Thomas A. Robinson, of Harford county, with whom he had a talk, the result of which caused Mr. Robinson to look very serious indeed. The caucus met at 8 o'clock. Rasin was in the Speaker's room. Smith, General Waters, Vandiver, Buchanan Schley and others of the Smith leaders were in the lobby, where were also Rusk, Rayner, Townsend and a host of others. Behind the locked doors the members of the Legislature sat in the House of Delegates chamber while the form of putting the candidates in nomination was gone through.

It was almost time for the roll call to begin when William Lee Carey, of Worcester, one of Smith's warmest and closest friends, went over to the city delegation and asked a man, Henry F. Bosse whom he knew to be ready to vote for Smith if any "word" had come. "No," was the reply. Mr. Carey went outside into the Speaker's room. Mr. Rasin sat in there with Mr. George N. Lewis, "Tom" Fitzgerald and one or two other henchmen.

"Mr. Rasin," said Carey, "you haven't sent any word to the city delegates."

"Send Bosse in here," was what Rasin replied.

Carey nearly broke a leg getting inside again and sending Bosse, of the city delegation out. Bosse went in, saw Rasin for about two minutes and came out. There was a rush toward him when he got back in the room.

"It's Rayner," he said; and it was.

Mr. Rasin had waited until the very last moment before giving the word. In the end he had used one of Smith's close friends to get for him the man by whom he sent the word. He told Bosse to follow "Tom" Robinson, and that Robinson would vote for Rayner. It was Senator Robinson who led the break toward Rayner. He was the first Carter vote to go over. The Rasin city delegates followed him, as did the Jackson and Miles delegates and the other county delegates whom Mr. Rasin had held in reserve.

It was as complete a betrayal as ever occurred. At the close of the caucus Arthur Gorman, who had at heart, always been for

Smith, furious with anger, rushed into the Speaker's room and there shook his fist in Rasin's face and denounced him.

"You lied to my father!" he shouted.

Rasin jumped up with clenched fists and hotly replied. Friends got in between and separated them.

Governor Smith took his defeat calmly, and like a man. He upbraided no one, denounced no one. All that he said was that he would always remember with gratitude the loyal support of his friends. In the course of the fight there were several times when Smith's friends pointed out to him his chance to buy the Senatorship. He refused, telling them he would rather not win than have to win that way. At one time his friends told him they knew the nomination was being bought by the other side and that if he would not buy it himself, they would do it for him. Smith emphatically declined to permit them to go further, and said, "If I have to buy my way to the Senate or have it bought for me I do not want to go."

The Rayner adherents were wild with joy after the caucus. The odds had been all against Rayner from the start. Nearly every political leader in the State was opposed to him, and his victory surprised some who had been for him. There ensued a wild night in Annapolis. Every drop of wine, beer and whisky in the town was drunk, and in the morning nothing intoxicating was to be had for love or money. It ended the most sensational Senatorial fight in the history of the State and marked the break between Gorman and Rasin that was never healed.

One of the regrettable things about it was the humiliation of Mr. Bernard Carter, who went into the fight only after being assured that Smith could not win. That the Pennsylvania Railroad was in any way behind his candidacy is denied by men who are in a position to know. He went into the fight at the urgent request of Mr. Gorman, who pointed out that with him only could they defeat Rayner. Whatever may be thought of Rasin's treachery and deceit, the shrewdness with which he fooled the whole State is unparalleled in Maryland politics. There is no doubt at all that he planned the whole thing just as it happened. He took no one into his confidence and no one understood his game. After it was all over Mr. Rasin took no little pride in what he had done.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

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### Governor Warfield's Break with Gorman and the Defeat of the First Suffrage Amendment.

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It was neither Republicans nor Independents, nor the combination of the two, that defeated the first suffrage amendment offered in Maryland and designed to eliminate the negro vote. It was buried by Democratic votes and killed in the house of its friends.

The idea of disfranchising the negro by means of a constitutional amendment was Senator Gorman's, and the 1903 campaign, which resulted in the election of Edwin Warfield, was made upon the promise that, if entrusted with power, the Democratic party would take steps to remove the negro from politics. Governor Warfield, Attorney-General William Shepard Bryan, Jr., and all the other candidates on the ticket were strongly in favor of the general proposition. Every Democratic orator in the campaign dwelt upon and elaborated the idea, and the suggestion everywhere aroused the most unbounded enthusiasm among the people. The "white supremacy" point was the one for which the audiences all over the State waited in listening to the speeches of the candidates and orators, and when it came they went wild. The three-fifths majority given the Democrats in the Legislature of 1904 was undoubtedly due to the favor the general idea of eliminating the negro found with the people.

After the election Senator Gorman set about formulating the amendment. Not a lawyer himself, he sought the advice and counsel of lawyers among his colleagues in the Senate. He got together a mass of material and ideas. He considered many of them for a long while, and then decided upon what he wanted. He then sent for Mr. John P. Poe, who put into concrete form the Gorman ideas.

The clause giving the registration officials power to determine the qualifications of any applicant, which was the rock upon which the amendment foundered, was not Mr. Poe's idea, but Senator Gorman's. Mr. Poe pointed out to Senator Gorman the manner in which he believed it would be attacked, and advised against it. Mr. Gorman, however, had been advised that that was an essential feature for any effective amendment and insisted upon it. It went in. In the campaign for the amendment Mr. Poe was accused all over the State by its opponents of having been responsible for this particular feature, to which in reality he was opposed.

After Mr. Poe had put the amendment in shape Senator Gorman took it back to Washington and there submitted it to various Senatorial lawyers for their opinion. By all he was advised that the shape in which the amendment was prepared would stand the test of the Supreme Court. That was the main point with Mr. Gorman. He did not want to run any risk as to the constitutionality of the amendment. He felt that if an amendment should be adopted in Maryland and subsequently knocked out by the Supreme Court it would be not only a reflection upon his intelligence but a terrific waste of time and effort. Hence he was determined to take no chance on this end, even if something else had to be sacrificed. One of the Senators to whom he exhibited the amendment as prepared by Mr. Poe, and whose opinion he asked as to its constitutionality, was the late Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Gorman afterward told Joshua W. Miles that Senator Hoar said: "Gorman, that is a hellish scheme of yours, but it will hold water."

That satisfied Mr. Gorman and he had the amendment presented in the Legislature. After that he would not consent to any change in the amendment. He did not want an "i" dotted nor a "t" crossed. The Democratic Senators and members of the House considered the amendment in caucus at Annapolis, and absolutely agreed upon it. Then came the break in the party. The first man who came out openly against the amendment was Attorney-General Bryan, who, while reaffirming his belief in the wisdom of disfranchising the illiterate and vicious negro, in-

sisted that the amendment as proposed was not an honest nor a square one. He asserted that it placed in the hands of the registration officials a dangerous power which they should not have, and that it placed the right to vote of every citizen in jeopardy. The Rayner-Smith fight for the Senatorship was out of the way by this time, and for the rest of that Legislature the suffrage amendment was the center of interest.

Following Mr. Bryan's declaration, Governor Warfield came out in opposition to the amendment. A howl went up all over the State among the Democratic regulars, but the Governor adhered to his position. Such leading Democrats as Joshua W. Miles, probably the pioneer in the disfranchising movement; Gen. L. Victor Baughman, of Frederick, and many others who had been his friends, went to Annapolis and urged him to change. Both Governor Warfield and Mr. Bryan favored what was known as the Worthington amendment, which did not contain the obnoxious registration provision, and which they considered fair. The Republicans and Independents meanwhile had for months been denouncing the whole plan as an outrageous and dishonest attempt of the "ring" to perpetuate its power.

Some of the newspapers had taken a similar stand, and the attitude of Warfield and Bryan was hailed with delight. It had the effect of completing the break between Governor Warfield and his party organization, which had already started. It arrayed Democratic leaders all over the State against him and it severed the last thread that held him to the organization. He was denounced and cursed and condemned by the organization people in a way of which he could have but little idea. On the other hand he was widely commended by the opponents of the amendment as a fearless, honest and non-partisan Governor, who put the public interests ahead of party advantages.

There was much excitement and intense feeling at Annapolis, which was increased when the Governor announced his intention of vetoing the amendment if passed. The Democratic leaders met this by refusing to present the amendment to him, thus giving him no chance either to veto or sign it. They put it through both House and Senate by a three-fifths vote, and it was never presented to the Governor, the Democratic contention being that,

having passed by a majority big enough to override the Governor's veto, he had no right to veto it. Their attitude was later sustained by the Court of Appeals.

After the Legislature adjourned very little was heard of the amendment. Governor Warfield maintained his uncompromising attitude of hostility and the party leaders continued to abuse him, but quietly. The 1904 national campaign came and went, and finally on September 28 the Democratic State Convention of 1905 was held. Governor Warfield was conspicuous by his absence. It was one of the few State conventions of his party in a great many years which he had failed to attend. Ex-Governor Smith, Ex-Governor Jackson, Ex-Governor Brown, Gen. John Gill, Mr. John P. Poe and prominent Democrats from all sections of the State were there. Senator Gorman was present and spoke, declaring that if the Democratic party were successful in adopting this suffrage amendment he would agree never again to seek public office at the hands of his party. Dr. Gordon T. Atkinson was renominated for Comptroller, and the amendment made the one issue.

Soon after the convention the fight started. The Democratic Anti-Poe Amendment Association was organized. Mr. Leigh Bonsal and other active independents came out openly against the measure and put a tremendous amount of energy into their campaign. William L. Marbury, Edgar H. Gans, Roger W. Cull and many other leading lawyers in interviews denounced the amendment and the effort to force it through. Ex-Governor William Pinkney Whyte bitterly assailed it and the men back of it, and regular Democrats all over the city and in the counties as well began to rise up and protest. Although the campaign raged in this way for weeks and weeks, Senator Isidor Rayner made no declaration until near the close of the fight. Then he came out in an impassioned and powerful statement upon the first page of *THE SUN*, in which he declared the amendment as drawn was opposed to the convictions he had held for a lifetime, and called upon the people of Maryland to defeat it.

In this article he attacked the organization leaders and the whole scheme. It was the most telling broadside delivered in the fight, and except for the opposition of Warfield and Bryan counted more than anything else.

Rayner followed this declaration up with a public challenge through the newspaper to Senator Gorman to meet him in joint debate on the subject. He wrote a letter to Mr. Gorman proposing to engage the Lyric for the debate and asking him to name the time. Senator Gorman made no reply to the letter. He ignored it completely. Mr. Rayner and the public waited for days for an answer, but the answer never came. When asked by newspaper men whether he was going to answer Rayner's letter Mr. Gorman only laughed and changed the subject. He has not answered that letter yet. He ignored it just as he ignored the man who wrote it, and a more effective way of dealing with the Rayner announcement could not have been devised.

Some of his friends, however, did answer Mr. Rayner, and the day following his declaration against the amendment Mr. Joshua W. Miles came out in a letter on the first page of *THE SUN*, in which he charged Mr. Rayner, while at Annapolis and in the midst of his fight for the Senatorship, with having offered to sign a written agreement to take the stump for the amendment if Mr. Gorman would give him the Senatorship. Mr. Miles also charged Mr. Rayner with having asked him to tell Mr. Gorman this, and to tell him further that if he wanted him to he would go to the next national convention and make a speech nominating Gorman for the Presidency. He also charged Mr. Rayner with having offered to stump the country in Mr. Gorman's interest, or to do anything else wanted of him if Mr. Gorman would support him for Senator.

The next day Senator Rayner published a letter in *THE SUN* denouncing all of Mr. Miles' charges as untrue and denying that he had ever had any such conversation with him or had ever made any such offers to him or to anyone else. The day after that State Senator Thomas H. Robinson, of Harford county, published a letter in *THE SUN* in which he corroborated Mr. Miles' charges in every detail. Senator Robinson declared that the conversation between Mr. Miles and Mr. Rayner had taken place in Carvel Hall, at Annapolis, in his presence; that Mr. Rayner had asked both him and Mr. Miles to go into a room with him, and

had made the statements given by Mr. Miles, which he had then asked them to convey to Mr. Gorman.

Mr. Rayner denied Mr. Robinson's statements also. This incident was one of the hottest in the whole campaign, and aroused a good deal of feeling. Although Mr. Rayner had then become his colleague in the Senate, Senator Gorman took no notice at all of his attitude, and in the speech he made at Ellicott City did not once refer to him, although he did to Governor Warfield.

Just a few days before the election, Governor Warfield, who had for some months been quiet on the subject of the amendment came out in an interview in THE SUN announcing his unalterable opposition to it. Up to that time there had been some hope among organization Democrats that the Governor would not make any further effort to defeat the measure, but would content himself with his declaration against it at Annapolis. Senator Gorman answered Mr. Warfield's interview in one of his own, given out at the Hotel Rennert to a reporter of THE SUN.

In this interview Mr. Gorman deplored deeply the stand taken by the Governor and said he hoped he would not regret it. It was a remarkable thing about Senator Gorman that while his friends and followers all over the State were cursing and denouncing Mr. Warfield, he himself was not heard, either publicly or privately, to say a single bitter word about him. That he felt bitterly was well known to those close to him, but he was able to discuss Mr. Warfield and his course without any sign of feeling or heat. That was his attitude always toward those who politically opposed him. It was vastly different from that of Mr. Rasin, who used to sit by the hour and revile the men whom he did not like.

Rasin played Gorman double again in the amendment fight. There is no question in the world that he was against the amendment and he did it, "under cover," vastly more harm than the whole Anti-Poe Amendment Association. It was Rasin who inspired "Bill" Garland to declare against the amendment, and a great many people still think that State's Attorney Albert S. J. Owens had some knowledge of Mr. Rasin's real attitude before he came out against the measure. It was Rasin who stirred up

the trouble in the Democratic City Committee, which resulted in the withdrawal of several executives who were not for the amendment, and it was on Rasin's advice that the city candidates refrained from pledging themselves for the amendment, which was what Mr. Gorman wanted them to do. At first Mr. Gorman had some suspicions of Mr. Rasin, but later became convinced that he was all right.

All Rasin was really interested in was the success of his city ticket. He cared nothing for the amendment, and deliberately sent some of his followers out to oppose it and some to favor it in order not to have it drag down the candidates.

The amendment was defeated by over 30,000, and it was a bitter disappointment to Mr. Gorman. He believed up to a few days before the election that it would win. Just before the election, however, he got wind of the real situation, so far as the city organization was concerned, and left here on Saturday afternoon, knowing it was doomed. It was at his urgent request that Mr. Frank A. Furst took charge of the fight for the amendment in the city. Mr. Furst was heart and soul in favor of the amendment. He was also a warm friend of Mr. Gorman. He consented to take charge of the amendment campaign committee, and the work that he and this committee did was practically all the work done for the amendment in the whole city. The organization—so far as Rasin was concerned—did nothing. Mr. Furst raised the money, gave up his time and put his heart into the fight. The tide was too strong and the treachery in the party too deep to check. On the same day the amendment was beaten, the following city officials were elected:

Sheriff—George W. Padgett, Republican.

Clerk of the City Court—G. Carey Lindsay.

City Surveyor—Raleigh C. Thomas.

Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench—Henry D. Harlan.

This was the year Judge Harlan defeated Judge Thomas Ireland Elliott, who ran as an Independent Republican candidate, polling 30,000 votes.

Dr. Atkinson was re-elected Comptroller over Henry McCullough, of Cecil county, his opponent, and the Legislature of 1906, chosen at the same time, was as follows:

## SENATE.

- Allegany—John B. Shannon, Democrat.  
Anne Arundel—Luther H. Gadd, Democrat.  
Baltimore City—(First District)—James Young, Democrat.  
(Second District)—Clarence W. Perkins, Democrat. (Third District)—J. Charles Linthicum, Democrat. (Fourth District)—Charles W. Jones, Republican.  
Baltimore County—John S. Biddison, Democrat.  
Calvert—Lewis McK. Griffith, Republican.  
Caroline—W. W. Goldsborough, Democrat.  
Carroll—Johnzie E. Beasman, Democrat.  
Cecil—Joseph I. France, Republican.  
Charles—S. S. Lancaster, Republican.  
Dorchester—Joseph B. Andrews, Republican.  
Frederick—David M. Devilbiss, Republican.  
Garrett—W. McCulloh Brown, Republican.  
Harford—William B. Baker, Republican.  
Howard—A. P. Gorman, Jr., Democrat.  
Kent—Garrett Foxwell, Democrat.  
Montgomery—Blair Lee, Democrat.  
Prince George's—William B. Clagett, Democrat.  
Queen Anne's—James E. Kirwan, Democrat.  
St. Mary's—Francis F. Greenwell, Fusionist.  
Somerset—S. Frank Dashiell, Democrat.  
Talbot—Joseph B. Seth, Democrat.  
Washington—B. Abner Betts, Democrat.  
Wicomico—M. V. Brewington, Democrat.  
Worcester—John P. Moore, Democrat.

## HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

- Allegany—James Campbell, Jr., Robt. M. Hutcheson, John Mackie, W. McL. Somerville, John J. Stump, Republicans.  
Anne Arundel—Charles A. Duvall, William C. Shipley, Democrats; James H. Murdock, C. H. Russell of J., Republicans.  
Baltimore City—(First Legislative District)—Robert J. Beacham, A. Cunningham, Jr., Louis E. Melis, William C. Watts,

Republicans; Edgar N. Ash, Frederick W. Wilcox, Democrats.

(Second Legislative District)—T. O. Heatwole, John L. V. Murphy, William L. Orem, Chas. R. Whiteford, Democrats; Allan Cleaveland, William N. McFaul, Republicans.

(Third Legislative District)—Charles J. Bouchet, J. A. Dawkins, Martin Lehmayr, T. Leigh Marriott, Democrats; Harry E. Banks, Fredk. T. Dorton, Republicans.

(Fourth Legislative District)—Jas. E. Godwin, Zach. T. Green, Elmer J. Jones, W. Harry Pairo, Edgar M. Peterson, Benjamin M. Stone, Republicans.

Baltimore County—James W. Ayres, Carville D. Benson, A. F. Brunier, John Gephart, Harry E. Goodwin, Sylvester J. Roche, Democrats.

Calvert—James T. Ross, Alexander B. Duke, Republicans.

Caroline—J. Alda Jackson, Willard C. Todd, Republicans.

Carroll—Jacob A. Frederick, Robert Lee Meyers, Democrats; Luther M. Bushey, William E. Kolb, Republicans.

Cecil—William B. Davis, Democrat; Alfred B. Cameron, W. A. Montgomery, Republicans.

Charles—Bruce M. Wilmer, J. Carlisle Wilmer, Republicans.

Dorchester—John W. Hastings, Oliver W. Hubbard, George R. Percy, Democrats; J. Holliday Murphy, Republicans.

Frederick—Aaron A. Anders, Charles C. Eyler, George J. Luckey, William L. Richards, Chas. A. Nicodemus, Republicans.

Garrett—Charles A. Ashby, Nathan R. Selby, Republicans.

Harford—Charles A. Andrew, Harry C. Lawder, Walter R. McComas, Edmund L. Oldfield, Democrats.

Howard—Matthew H. Gill, James W. Pearre, Democrats.

Kent—Curtis E. Crane, Isaac Gibbs, Democrats.

Montgomery—Walter C. Carroll, Chas. H. Griffith, Louis B. Scholl, Democrats; David H. Fenton, Republican.

Prince George's—Richard S. Hill, Joseph K. Roberts, James Enos Ray, Democrats; Charlton Sasscer, Republican.

Queen Anne's—E. H. Covington, Chas. L. Joslin, David P. Smith, Independents.

Somerset—C. A. Lockerman, C. L. Whittington, Isaac T. J. Brown, Democrats.

St. Mary's—William T. Wilkinson, Fusionist; C. V. Hayden, Jr., Democrat.

Talbot—William A. Kirby, Walter Weber, Wm. G. Quimby, Democrats.

Washington—Harry E. Baker, John B. Beard, Abner B. Bingham, T. A. Brown, George T. Prather, Republicans.

Wicomico—James O. Adams, Ebenezer G. Davis, C. R. Disharoon, Democrats.

Worcester—William Lee Carey, Orlando Harrison, L. Paul Ewell, Democrats.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

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Changes That Followed the Death of McLane—The Timanus Administration and the Death of Rasin—Mahool's Election.

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Starting with the death of Robert M. McLane, in 1904, political changes of a far-reaching nature began to occur in Maryland, altering the whole face of the Democratic party, and bringing about a chaotic condition out of which it has not yet emerged entirely.

First, there came the tragic end of McLane, at a time when he was easily the most promising and hopeful figure on the Democratic horizon, with a career of political preferment and usefulness stretched invitingly before him. His death placed in the Mayor's chair a Republican—E. Clay Timanus, who had been elected President of the Second Branch City Council, and who under the charter succeeded to the Mayoralty. Personally, Mr. Timanus was a big, fine, hearty, likable fellow, whose intentions are good. Politically, he is a strong organization Republican who has been active in politics for years and who had served several terms as a First Branch City Councilman without displaying any traits that raised him markedly above the average Councilman. His nomination for the Presidency of the Second Branch was due to Collector W. F. Stone, who, when he became Mayor, was his adviser and guide. Had Mr. Timanus the power, there is little doubt that he would have cleared pretty well the Democratic job-holders out of the City Hall and substituted Republicans. That he did not do so was due chiefly to the fact that, under the charter, he was unable to remove the heads of departments named by McLane.

Other moves of the Mayor along lines of really legitimate partisanship were blocked by William Cabell Bruce, then City Solici-

tor, who in that position rendered much service to the city for which he got little credit. When McLane died, Mr. Bruce's inclination was to resign at once. The Timanus administration urged him not to hurry, but there shortly came a time when it would have been overjoyed had he got out. The plain evidence of this joy was the deciding factor in Mr. Bruce's determination to stay. By sticking to the job he performed a high public duty at a considerable personal sacrifice.

In the three years he was Mayor Mr. Timanus was able to find places for no inconsiderable number of Republican workers, but they were put in without ostentation and through the quiet acquiescence of the Democratic heads of departments, who did not like to refuse a request from the Mayor, even though their own heads were safe. Charles E. Phelps, as Electrical Engineer, was the one man who showed courage enough to prevent Timanus from sliding Republican politicians into his department. The one big place over which he had power was that of Superintendent of Public Buildings, and he very promptly named George F. Jones, an old-time Republican politician, to succeed the Democratic incumbent. Mr. Jones very promptly replaced the 100-odd Democratic workers whom he found in the department with the same number of Republican workers. The only man he left was the elevator man in the City Hall, and he, too, would have gone but for the fact that he was a very popular fellow with Councilmen, newspaper men and politicians, and there would have been a howl.

Probably the most important duty that confronted Mr. Timanus at the outset of his term was the appointing of a Sewerage Commission to expend the \$10,000,000 loan ratified the year before. Of the personnel of this commission no criticism was made, except of one member. A great many persons thought he should not have appointed William D. Platt, who was chairman of the Republican City Committee and an extremely active Republican politician. Still, the Mayor's commission satisfied the public that does not scratch below the surface, and Mr. Timanus must be given credit for having tried to put the strongest men on he could. Among those to whom he offered places on the

commission, and who declined, were Mr. Frank A. Furst, W. W. Abell and Gen. Felix Agnus.

Like Hayes, Timanus guided by Stone played the game to succeed himself, and he played it pretty well. As a political mentor and guide there are few persons in Maryland superior to Collector Stone. Stone's judgment, his talent for management and political shrewdness were all employed to prevent Timanus from making mistakes, and he was very successful. By being careful and taking Stone's advice always Timanus really made a very creditable record in the three years he had the job. A great aid to the Mayor in popularizing his administration was his secretary, Harry W. Nice, now the Republican supervisor of elections. Mr. Nice had served in the City Council and knew the municipal, as well as the political, game well. He had a lot of friends in both parties and helped not a little in bringing things to a pass so that when 1907 rolled around Timanus was the Stone candidate for the nomination.

While Timanus was Mayor Mr. Stone and Congressman Frank C. Wachter had patched up their differences. Stone was for Wachter just as long as Wachter wanted to go to Congress from the Third district, and Wachter knew it. The trouble with him was that he believed he had been elected Mayor before, and that if he could get the nomination again the people would sweep him into the office on his cry of "Victory and vindication." So, without divulging his determination to Mr. Stone, or to anyone save a few of his close friends like William M. Stewart and the two Broenings, Wachter went to Europe. Soon after he came back he announced his candidacy for the Mayoralty nomination, and once again he and the organization locked horns.

It was a different fight this time. In the first place, Stone, who was ill most of the time in the Wachter-Platt campaign of 1905, was in good health, and personally directed the organization forces. In the second place, Timanus was a stronger candidate than Platt, and in the third place, Wachter was not as strong as he had been before, two of the most influential friends he had—John J. Hanson and George W. Padgett—having gone over to the Stone camp.

Still he made a gallant fight. He recognized that it was his last chance, and he staked everything on the outcome. For the first time in the various fights he had made he spent his own money, the financial support he had had in his other battles from William H. Jackson and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad being conspicuously lacking. Also, Congressman Sydney E. Mudd, who had been a tower of strength to him in his first contest, was not so vitally interested this time, and rather assumed a non-partisan attitude, although he would have liked to have seen Stone beaten.

Wachter went into every ward and spoke, denouncing Stone and the "Custom House crowd" with unprecedented violence, and holding Timanus, Platt, "Charlie" Montell and other of Stone's friends up to scorn. But he did not win. He was beaten fairly and squarely, and the result of the primaries closed his political career. Stone's candidates won in the primaries all the way down the line. Timanus got more than 5,000 over Wachter; George R. Heffner, for Comptroller, defeated John C. Friedel, a Wachter man, and Dr. A. F. Grempler was nominated for President of the Second Branch over Samuel H. Tattersall, who had linked his fortunes with Wachter.

The Democratic primary contest, however, was vastly more interesting and exciting than that of the other side, and in many respects was the most remarkable that ever occurred in the city. There were three candidates for Mayor and a big array of Councilmanic aspirants. George Stewart Brown was the first of the Democratic Mayoralty aspirants in the field. Standing on a municipal ownership platform, he made a remarkable fight, and when it is realized that he had no funds, no newspaper support and was opposed by the corporations, and the banking interests of the town, the showing made by him was equally remarkable.

The second candidate in the field was J. Charles Linthicum, who had served in the Legislature, and was at the time a member of the State Senate, filling out the unexpired term of Congressman John Gill. Mr. Linthicum built up a personal organization throughout the city and had the aid of a number of influential men. He also spent much money.

The real interest, of course, was centered upon the organization candidate. Neither Linthicum nor Brown was acceptable to the organization people, and the same old difficulty that confronted the party four years before was again experienced. Because of his splendid record as City Solicitor and his known ability and experience, a great many people were anxious to have William Cabell Bruce as the candidate.

Mr. Bruce had friends all over the city who were enthusiastic in urging him as the right man. One of these was John Hannibal, and through him there sprang up a strong Bruce sentiment in East Baltimore. At one time Mr. Rasin had made up his mind to support Bruce, and so sent him word. Later he changed his mind, and showed a vacillation that was as unusual in him as it was demoralizing to his followers. Mr. Bruce did not announce himself as a candidate, but petitions indorsing him for the Mayoralty were signed by hundreds of the best citizens in the town, and at one time it looked as if there were no way for the organization to get away from him.

Day after day passed with Mr. Rasin undecided and the organization people getting restive under the progress being made by Linthicum and Brown. Mr. Rasin began to show symptoms of uncertainty and uneasiness that made his friends wonder. Finally one day the "Old Man" went around to Ex-Gov. Frank Brown's office and begged him to take the whole responsibility off his shoulders.

"You find the candidate," he told Governor Brown, "and I will support him. I will swing this organization for anybody you name and I don't want anything to do with it. I am not going through another Hayes campaign with everybody blackguarding me. I'm tired of the whole business and want to get out."

Governor Brown told Mr. Rasin he would be willing to take the job if Mr. Rasin meant what he said and would stick to it, but if there was to be any backing and filling he would drop the matter like a hot cake. Mr. Rasin, almost tearfully, assured him he would stand by anything he did. Next day the announcement was made that Governor Brown was going to pick the organization candidates. Mr. Rasin told his followers to go to see Governor Brown. Most of them thought it was a "frameup," and

that Rasin, as usual, would pull the strings from behind the scenes. Practically no one believed the situation to be just what it was.

Ex-Governor Brown took hold with vigor, and for two or three weeks held conferences in his office with Democrats of all shades and complexions. He conferred with the politicians like John Mahon and J. Frank Morrison and with business men, clubmen, reformers and others. Various aspirants presented their claims in person to him and others had their friends come. His office was the "mecca" and everybody in Democratic politics journeyed that way. At nights he used to see Rasin and talk things over, but every time the "Old Man" told him to go ahead and get his man. Several times he urged the Governor to hurry up and not let things drift too far.

Finally Governor Brown made up his mind, and after satisfying himself that the ticket would command the newspaper support he considered indispensable announced it:

J. Barry Mahool for Mayor.

George N. Numsen for President of the Second Branch.

Harry F. Hooper for Comptroller.

The ticket as announced did not suit everybody, but it went. Numsen's friends and Numsen himself had been exceedingly anxious to obtain the first place on the ticket. Mahool was an aspirant for the Presidency of the Second Branch and had no thought of the Mayoralty. He was a Bruce man and was utterly surprised when Governor Brown sent for him and put the proposition up to him. He declined to give any answer until after he had seen Mr. Bruce.

He conferred with Mr. Bruce and told him that he was for him for Mayor and would not think of accepting the nomination if Bruce would become a candidate. Mr. Bruce at once emphatically insisted upon Mahool making the fight, pledged himself to do all in his power for his nomination and election and declared he was not a candidate. Then Mahool went back to Brown's office and accepted. Immediately Governor Brown called Rasin up on the telephone and told him, "I've got my man." "Who is he?" asked Rasin. "It's Mahool," was the reply. "That's all right,"

replied Mr. Rasin, "he suits me. Besides that, he is a relative of mine."

That night the writer of this book went to Mr. Rasin's house for *THE SUN* to talk with him about Mahool. Mr. Rasin sat in his den upstairs and talked enthusiastically of Governor Brown's choice. He said the ticket would win and that there would be no more trouble. He followed the writer downstairs and out to the vestibule door, still talking about what a good candidate Mahool would make. The last thing he said was: "If you say anything about him in the paper don't forget that he is a Scotchman by descent—not Irish." Mr. Rasin went back into the house and into his parlor. He sat there for a few minutes talking with his sons, Carroll and John F. Rasin. He started to get up to go upstairs when he was stricken and fell to the floor. He was carried upstairs, but never recovered. His attack was kept quiet and the story of his illness did not get into the newspapers for several days, but he was stricken on the very night Mahool agreed to run.

Mr. Rasin lingered for several days and then died. In his death there passed a political leader whose astuteness and ability it is hard to exaggerate. No man in politics in Maryland ever received a tithe as much of the abuse and denunciation as was heaped upon him. Some of it he deserved; some of it he did not. A good deal of injustice was done him, and personally he was as interesting a man as ever lived in Maryland. With his death came confusion for the organization which he had so long held together.

Utter demoralization was prevented by the fact that Governor Brown had already taken the reins and was driving the machine. The Rasin people flocked to him, and for a while he was hailed as a leader. It was recognized, however, that he was not and could not be a real leader, and that the mantle of control of the workers must inevitably fall upon the shoulders of the next strongest man. This man unquestionably was John J. Mahon.

John Mahon, next to Mr. Rasin, had more political friends and a bigger political following than any other man in the city. Never able to beat Mr. Rasin in the primaries, he was frequently able to beat Mr. Rasin's candidates in the general election. For many

years he had been Mr. Rasin's right-hand man. Then there came a break, and for many years there was a bitter feud between them. After the McLane election, however, a truce was patched up, and once more the two men worked in harmony, John Mahon always retaining, however, his own political strength and keeping in a position where he could cut loose again if necessary.

When Mr. Rasin died it left Mahon as the only man with a following who knew the real details of ward and city politics, and who could play them practically. The result was that he became the real leader. Governor Brown kept to the front for the sake of the ticket, and Mahon was anxious that he should, not desiring to be made an issue or to have the guns of newspaper criticism trained upon him too directly.

The Mayoralty vote on the Democratic side that year was: Mahool, 23,906; Brown, 9,285; Linthicum, 7,135.

In the Republican primaries Timanus got 19,765 and Wachter 14,385. George R. Heffner was nominated for Comptroller over John C. Friedel, and Dr. A. E. F. Grempler defeated Samuel H. Tattersall for President of the Second Branch. Neither George N. Numsen for President of the Second Branch nor Harry F. Hooper for Comptroller was opposed in the Democratic primaries. There was strong opposition to Hooper among an element of Democrats, but this was kept down by Ex-Governor Brown, who insisted that there must be party harmony.

The Councilmanic ticket nominated by the two parties was:

#### SECOND BRANCH.

First District—George Konig, Democrat; Theodore S. Ludwig, Republican.

Second District—James Davis, Democrat; James Carey, Republican.

Third District—Duke Bond, Democrat; Rufus W. Applegarth, Republican.

Fourth District—E. H. Hargrave, Democrat; Charles H. Heintzman, Republican.

## FIRST BRANCH.

First Ward—John H. Trautfelder, Democrat; Robert J. Beacham, Republican.

Second—Dr. George Heller, Democrat; John W. Lohmiller, Republican.

Third—William Stewart Brown, Democrat; Edward W. Klein, Republican.

Fourth—L. D. Greene, Democrat; Edward Delacour, Republican.

Fifth—W. W. Cherry, Democrat; Bernhard Dietz, Republican.

Sixth—John Betz, Jr., Democrat; W. C. Watts, Republican.

Seventh—H. W. Jackson, Democrat; David Heller, Republican.

Eighth—Isaac Frank, Democrat; John Kronmiller, Republican.

Ninth—Charles R. Whiteford, Democrat; Dr. Charles E. Gantline, Republican.

Tenth—Bernard J. Lee, Democrat; William C. Schuchardt, Republican.

Eleventh—T. Rowland Slingluff, Democrat; Addison E. Mullikin, Republican.

Twelfth—Timothy O. Heatwole, Democrat; William O. Atwood, Republican.

Thirteenth—Samuel L. West, Democrat; George E. Mann, Republican.

Fourteenth—Bushrod M. Watts, Democrat; Augustus C. Binswanger, Republican.

Fifteenth—Ruxton M. Ridgely, Democrat; Henry A. Ulrich, Republican.

Sixteenth—C. E. F. Schroeder, Democrat; Robert D. McCurdy, Republican.

Seventeenth—Oregon Milton Dennis, Democrat; Harry S. Cummins (colored), Republican.

Eighteenth—Frederick T. Hellman, Democrat; Richard M. Sheckels, Republican.

Nineteenth—L. Bates Etchison, Democrat; John S. Moke, Republican.

Twentieth—Henry L. Wienefeld, Democrat; Charles L. Kohlstead, Republican.

Twenty-First—Dr. Joseph E. Muse, Democrat; William H. Leonhauser, Republican.

Twenty-Second—Chas. Griebel, Democrat; Albert M. Sproesser, Republican.

Twenty-Third—William Hiller, Democrat; Z. T. Green, Republican.

Twenty-Fourth—H. J. C. Hoffman, Democrat; William Allen, Republican.

The campaign that followed was a hot one. The Brown and Linthicum forces swung into line behind Mahool and the whole ticket. Nearly all of the independents supported Mahool, and there was some disaffection in the Republican ranks among the Wachter followers. Both THE SUN and the EVENING NEWS supported the Democratic ticket vigorously, and there seemed every reason to anticipate a rousing big majority such as was given Hayes in 1899. Everybody thought there would be such a majority. The party had not been so united in years, but it did not materialize.

Mahool won by a little less than 4,000; Numsen and Hooper both ran far ahead in the matter of pluralities, Numsen getting over 8,000 and Hooper over 7,000, but their total vote was not as large as that of Mahool, thus showing that Mahool did not run behind his ticket, but that a great many voters voted for Timanus and for no one else. The only possible conclusion to be drawn from the figures was that Timanus was an exceptionally strong candidate, and had made a mighty fine showing as a vote-getter under the circumstances.

The City Council elected with Mahool was overwhelmingly Democratic. It was composed of:

#### SECOND BRANCH.

First District—George Konig.

Second District—James Davis.

Third District—Duke Bond.

Fourth District—Charles H. Heintzman.

## FIRST BRANCH.

- First Ward—John H. Trautfelder.  
Second—Dr. George Heller.  
Third—Edward W. Klein.  
Fourth—Louis D. Greene.  
Fifth—W. W. Cherry.  
Sixth—John Betz, Jr.  
Seventh—Howard W. Jackson.  
Eighth—Isaac Frank.  
Ninth—Charles R. Whiteford.  
Tenth—Bernard J. Lee.  
Eleventh—Addison E. Mullikin.  
Twelfth—Timothy O. Heatwole.  
Thirteenth—Samuel L. West.  
Fourteenth—Augustus C. Binswanger.  
Fifteenth—Henry A. Ulrich.  
Sixteenth—Robert D. McCurdy.  
Seventeenth—Harry S. Cummings (colored).  
Eighteenth—Frederick T. Hellman.  
Nineteenth—L. Bates Etchison.  
Twentieth—Henry L. Wienefeld.  
Twenty-First—Dr. Joseph E. Muse.  
Twenty-Second—Albert M. Sproesser.  
Twenty-Third—William Hiller.  
Twenty-Fourth—H. J. C. Hoffman.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

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### The Congressional Fights from 1900 to 1908.

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Before telling the story of the Crothers-Gaither fight for the Governorship, one result of which was the election to the United States Senate and establishment as the State Democratic leader of John Walter Smith, it is worth while to review the Congressional campaigns that immediately preceded it, showing who went to Congress and how. It was in 1900 that the second Bryan disaster again gave the Republicans the six Congressional districts from this State. Every Democrat was defeated and six Republicans were chosen as follows:

First District—(Short Term)—Josiah L. Kerr. (Long Term)—William H. Jackson.

Second—Albert A. Blakeney.

Third—Frank C. Wachter.

Fourth—Charles R. Schirm.

Fifth—Sydney E. Mudd.

Sixth—George A. Pearre.

The defeated Democratic candidates of the year were:

First District—(Short Term)—Edwin H. Brown. (Long Term)—John P. Moore.

Second—J. F. C. Talbott.

Third—Robert F. Leach.

Fourth—James W. Denny.

Fifth—B. Harris Camalier.

Sixth—Charles A. Little.

Preceding this campaign, both parties in Maryland had sent delegates to their respective national conventions at Philadelphia and Kansas City, Bryan and McKinley being the respective Presidential candidates. This was the first campaign in which William H. Jackson, better known as "Uncle Bill," was a candi-

date for office. In 1898 John Walter Smith had been elected to Congress from the First District, but before he took his seat was chosen Governor and resigned. This made it necessary for both parties to nominate two candidates in the district, one for the long and one for the short term. Because he had the money and was willing to spend it, Jackson was named by his party for the long term. "Uncle Bill" justified the expectations of the Republican county leaders. He opened up his barrel and a perfect orgy of vote buying and selling marked the campaign. He swamped his opponent, John P. Moore, with the unlimited campaign fund he put out, and was elected to Congress without once appearing on the stump or addressing the voters. From that time until his career was permanently checked by an overwhelming defeat at the hands of J. Harry Covington, in 1908, Jackson ruled the roost on the Eastern Shore, and it is estimated has spent from start to finish in campaigns close to half a million dollars. In one campaign alone, he boasted to Raleigh C. Smith, who obtained an interview with him at his home for the BALTIMORE NEWS, that he had spent \$50,000.

Two years after Mr. Jackson was first elected, the Democrats regained two of the six Congressional districts—the second and fourth. The Congressmen elected were:

First District—William H. Jackson, Republican.

Second—J. F. C. Talbott, Democrat.

Third—Frank C. Wachter, Republican.

Fourth—James W. Denny, Democrat.

Fifth—Sydney E. Mudd, Republican.

Sixth—George A. Pearre, Republican.

The defeated candidates were:

First District—James E. Ellegood, Democrat.

Second—William Tyler Page, Republican.

Third—Lee S. Meyer, Democrat.

Fourth—Charles R. Schirm, Republican.

Fifth—B. Harris Camalier, Republican.

Sixth—Christian F. Kenneweg, Democrat.

Wachter had another narrow escape from defeat this time, and but for treachery in the Seventh and Eighth wards upon

the part of Democratic ward leaders, Meyer would have been elected.

In 1904, there was another Presidential campaign, Alton B. Parker and Theodore Roosevelt being the candidates. The delegates to the Democratic convention in St. Louis were:

At Large—Arthur P. Gorman, J. F. C. Talbott, Murray Vandiver, John Walter Smith.

District Delegates:

First District—Joshua W. Miles and Richard D. Hynson.

Second—Thomas H. Robinson and Frederick Von Kapf.

Third—Frank A. Furst and John Hannibal.

Fourth—John J. Mahon and Francis E. Yewell.

Fifth—J. Frank Smith and George Wells.

Sixth—Buchanan Schley and Arthur Peter.

Senator Gorman did not go to the convention, but was represented by his son, Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., and General L. Victor Baughman, whom he had made National Committeeman. Mr. Gorman shut himself up at his home in Laurel and denied himself to all callers. He had for some months prior to the convention been boomed as a candidate for the Presidential nomination, but had said to no one that he desired it. Since Mr. Gorman's death it has become known that he was, in fact, in full sympathy with the Parker movement, and had been one of those with whom Belmont, Sheehan and other of the Parker supporters had first consulted. Some bitterness was engendered at the State Convention through the selection of the delegates to the national convention. Rayner had just been elected Senator and was Mr. Gorman's colleague. He had intimated to the Gorman people that if permitted to go to the convention he would be glad to make a speech nominating Mr. Gorman. Mr. Gorman, however, decided to ignore Mr. Rayner and Mr. Warfield, who was then Governor, altogether, and neither was tendered an invitation to be a delegate. Mr. W. W. Abell was asked by Mr. Gorman to be one of the delegates at large, but declined the honor. Holding a proxy for one of the delegates, Mr. John P. Poe attended the convention, and had much to do with the making of the platform, being at once taken into the confidence of David B. Hill

and the other leaders there, who regarded him as one of the ablest men in the country.

The delegates to the Republican convention, which was held in Chicago, were as follows:

At Large—Louis E. McComas, William H. Jackson, Felix Agnus, Stevenson A. Williams.

First District—P. L. Goldsborough and Henry M. McCullough.

Second—James E. Ingram and Charles C. Gorsuch.

Third—David W. Jones and William S. Booze.

Fourth—William H. Green and Harry S. Cummins (colored).

Fifth—Thomas Parran and A. A. Blakeney.

Sixth—Thomas C. Noyes and Reno S. Harp.

While Roosevelt carried the State against Parker, the Democrats in Maryland succeeded in gaining one more district—the First. "Uncle Bill" Jackson was defeated by Thomas A. Smith, in spite of the fact that this was the campaign in which he is believed to have spent more money than any man ever spent to go to Congress. Mr. Smith was a poor man, but he had the support of John Walter Smith, who financed and managed the Democratic fight in the district, and who fought Jackson with the same weapons used by him. "Uncle Bill" was tremendously exasperated. He instituted, through Sydney E. Mudd, a contest against Mr. Smith in Congress, but the efforts of Mr. Talbott and others rendered this unavailing. Jackson had by this time become a recognized State leader among the Republicans, and had strong Senatorial aspirations, which had been fostered by the Republicans by giving him the complimentary caucus vote in the Legislature upon several occasions. This bait enabled them to obtain from Mr. Jackson large sums of money for campaigns in the State. The candidates elected to Congress in 1904 were:

First District—Thomas A. Smith, Democrat.

Second—J. F. C. Talbott, Democrat.

Third—Frank C. Wachter, Republican.

Fourth—John Gill, Democrat.

Fifth—Sydney E. Mudd, Republican.

Sixth—George A. Pearre, Republican.

The delegation, as a result of this election, was evenly divided.

The defeated candidates were:

First District—William H. Jackson, Republican.

Second—Robert Garrett, Republican.

Third—Lee S. Meyer, Democrat.

Fourth—William C. Smith, Republican.

Fifth—B. Harris Camalier, Democrat.

Sixth—Walter A. Johnston, Democrat.

This was the first campaign in which Mr. Garrett ran against Mr. Talbott. He was his party's candidate in 1906 and again in 1908, and while he was beaten badly each time, he deserves credit for making what he knew to be a losing fight at a personal sacrifice. Mr. Wachter defeated Mr. Meyer this time by over 2,000, his victory being due largely to the activity of certain police friends, among whom might be mentioned General Thomas J. Shryock, then a member of the Police Board, and Bernard Ward, then a police captain. John Gill, at the time he was nominated, in the Fourth district, was serving in the State Senate. He gained the nomination after a bitter primary fight with Major James W. Denny, and carried the general election by nearly 1,800 plurality over William C. Smith. J. Charles Linthicum, who had been in the House of Delegates of 1904, was nominated the following fall to succeed Mr. Gill in the State Senate for the unexpired term. Linthicum's fight for the nomination marked one of the most extraordinary primaries ever held in Baltimore. His opponent for the nomination was Isaac Lobe Straus. Mr. Straus had the support apparently of every element of the party. He was strongly favored, on the surface, by I. Freeman Rasin and the local organization. John J. Mahon and his friends were for him, and the J. Frank Morrison element endorsed his candidacy at a meeting of the Crescent Club. He had the support of THE SUN and other newspapers, and a fine political record. Yet he was beaten. Various explanations have been offered. One of them was that Mr. Linthicum's campaign fund—this was before the day of the Corrupt Practices Act—was too big. Another was that there was treachery toward Straus upon the part of the organization people, and still another was that the enemies he had made in Annapolis at the session of the Legislature of 1902 had seized this opportunity to get even.

with him. Mr. Linthicum had the enthusiastic support of John Gill and James H. Preston, who were a tower of strength to him, and he unquestionably did spend a lot of money. When the fight began no one had any idea Linthicum could win, but its result gave a great many political persons a distinct respect for his prowess. Mr. Rasin was apparently enraged at the result, and furiously denounced ward leaders who had permitted Linthicum to carry their wards over Straus.

The Congressional campaign that followed—1906—had one big feature. It was the “vindication” of Uncle Bill Jackson. He went into the fight determined to defeat “Tom” Smith, no matter how much money it cost. He succeeded, but no such sum of money ever before flooded the First District. So enormous was the amount spent by Mr. Jackson that public attention was centered on Eastern Shore conditions, and a wave of indignation went over the State, but Mr. Jackson got the seat. The list of Congressmen elected that year were:

First District—William H. Jackson, Republican.

Second—J. F. C. Talbott, Democrat.

Third—Harry B. Wolf, Democrat.

Fourth—John Gill, Democrat.

Fifth—Sydney E. Mudd.

Sixth—George A. Pearre.

The defeated candidates were:

First District—Thomas A. Smith, Democrat.

Second—Robert Garrett, Republican.

Third—W. W. Johnson, Republican.

Fourth—John V. L. Findlay, Jr., Republican.

Fifth—George N. Smith, Democrat.

Sixth—Herman Spessard, Democrat.

In 1908, the last Presidential campaign, was one of the most interesting, and by far the closest ever waged in Maryland. Bryan and Taft were the candidates. Twice had Maryland gone against Bryan by overwhelming majorities—once as high as 30,000. This time, Taft carried the State by the slender plurality of 512, but Bryan got seven of the eight electors. Much of this showing was due to John Walter Smith, who had then become the State leader, and who had his heart in the Bryan fight.

It was Senator Smith's attitude of enthusiastic support that compelled the organization to make a far more sincere fight for Bryan than they ever did before, and enabled the candidate to make a better showing in this State than in any other in the country. THE SUN made a vigorous fight for Taft, and with no newspaper support, and the element swayed by the press solidly against the party, the showing made was remarkable. The attitude of Governor Crothers and the State administration was also a big factor in the fight, and tended to solidify the party ranks for Bryan in a way that had not been approached in 1896 or 1900.

The delegates to the Democratic National Convention held in Denver in 1908, and the Presidential electors for Maryland in that year, were:

Delegates at Large—Governor Austin L. Crothers, General Murray Vandiver, Attorney-General Isaac Lobe Straus, Congressman J. F. C. Talbott.

District Delegates:

First—Andrew W. Woodall, Kent; W. Grason Winterbottom, Dorchester.

Second—Charles H. Dickey, Baltimore county; T. Herbert Shriver, Carroll.

Third—John J. Mahon, Baltimore; John Hubert, Baltimore.

Fourth—S. S. Field, Baltimore; Daniel J. Loden, Baltimore.

Fifth—Jackson H. Ralston, Prince George's; J. Frank Smith, St. Mary's.

Sixth—Blair Lee, Montgomery; Gilmor S. Hammill, Garrett.

Presidential Electors:

At Large—James W. Denny, James Enos Ray.

First—Edwin H. Brown, Queen Anne's.

Second—John F. Williams, Baltimore.

Third—Dr. Hanson H. Biedler, Baltimore.

Fourth—John Charles Linthicum, Baltimore.

Fifth—William H. Hellen, Calvert.

Sixth—Dr. Charles H. Conly, Frederick.

The Republican electors and delegates to the Republican National Convention held in Chicago were:

At Large—William P. Jackson, Wicomico; Sydney E. Mudd,

Charles; Felix Agnus, Baltimore; George A. Pearre, Allegany.  
Alternates—John D. Urie, Kent; George B. Merrick, Prince George's; Charles R. Schirm, Baltimore; Chas. D. Wagaman, Washington county.

#### DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District—Phillips Lee Goldsborough, Dorchester; Senator Joseph I. Francé, Cecil. Alternates—Robert Franklin Duer, Somerset; David P. McMenamin, Kent.

Second District—William P. Henry, Baltimore; C. Ross Mace, Baltimore county. Alternates—Alfonso Wyszceki, Baltimore; Thomas V. Richard, Baltimore county.

Third District—George W. Padgett, Baltimore; Dr. William S. Booze, Baltimore. Alternates—George B. Flynn, Baltimore; John A. Janetzke, Baltimore.

Fourth District—Dr. H. C. Algire, Baltimore; Rev. W. M. Alexander (colored), Baltimore. Alternates—Dr. W. A. Montell, Baltimore; Alexander Hemsley, Baltimore.

Fifth District—Thomas Parran, Calvert; Gustavus B. Timanus, Prince George's. Alternates—John Bowie, Anne Arundel; T. Spencer Crane, St. Mary's.

Sixth District—John P. T. Mathias, Frederick county; W. N. Roulette, Washington county. Alternates—Dr. Webster Ravenscroft, Garrett; William Snouffer, Frederick county.

Electors at Large—John A. Robinson, Harford; Albert G. Towers, Caroline.

District Electors—(1) Robert S. Adkins; (2) Dr. Luther Kemp; (3) Joseph Brooks; (4) M. F. Burgess; (5) J. Webb Thomas; (6) Moses Bomberger.

The Congressmen elected in that year were:

First District—J. Harry Covington, Democrat.

Second—J. F. C. Talbott, Democrat.

Third—John Kronmiller, Republican.

Fourth—John Gill, Democrat.

Fifth—Sydney E. Mudd, Republican.

Sixth—George A. Pearre, Republican.

The defeated candidates were:

First District—William H. Jackson, Republican.

Second—Robert Garrett, Republican.

Third—Harry B. Wolf, Democrat.

Fourth—John Philip Hill, Republican.

Fifth—George N. Smith, Democrat.

Sixth—David J. Lewis, Democrat.

In this election, Pearre in the Sixth and Mudd in the Fifth, pulled through by exceedingly slim margins, neither receiving more than a few hundred plurality. Had the Democrats realized things were going to be so close in these two Republican strongholds, they could easily have carried them. As it was, it opened their eyes to the possibility of beating both Mudd and Pearre, regarded heretofore as invincible in their respective districts. The fight against Mudd was a bitter one, and the forces of organized labor enthusiastically and solidly supported Smith, who was a labor man. The fact that Mr. Mudd was not in good health also contributed toward losing him many votes, as he was unable to make the aggressive campaign he wanted to. In the Sixth District, Lewis made a remarkable fight, and the enemies of Pearre in his own party cut him right and left. In the Third District, Wolf was defeated by a small majority, chiefly because he had not attended to his duties as a Congressman. It was shown in the campaign that in two years he had answered only about ten roll calls, and it was generally known that he had done nothing but draw the salary. In the face of this, the voters refused to return him, and the Democrats lost this district simply because the nominee was a man who had no other conception of the duties of the place to which he had been elected than to receive the pay. The defeat of Mr. Jackson by Covington in the First District, put "Uncle Bill" permanently out of politics. He announced that he would not be a candidate again, and the political leadership he had possessed on the Eastern Shore was promptly assumed by his son, William P. Jackson, who had been made National Committeeman at Chicago through the influence of Collector Stone. Young Jackson could not be induced to run for Congress in 1910, realizing that he could not win, the fine record and proven ability displayed by Congressman Covington causing it to be generally conceded that he would be unanimously

renominate by his party and overwhelmingly elected. "Young Will," however, cherished Senatorial aspirations, similar to those held for a long while by his father, and became sufficiently interested to make liberal contributions to the Republican campaign fund in the district and elsewhere. In the 1910 fight, however, the Republicans had not the ghost of a hope of beating Mr. Covington, and put up Abraham Lincoln Dryden as a sacrifice. The candidates elected were:

First District—J. Harry Covington, Democrat.

Second—J. F. C. Talbott, Democrat.

Third—George Konig, Democrat.

Fourth—J. Charles Linthicum, Democrat.

Fifth—Thomas Parran, Republican.

Sixth—David J. Lewis, Democrat.

The defeated candidates were:

First District—Abraham Lincoln Dryden, Republican.

Second—William B. Baker, Republican.

Third—Charles Main, Republican.

Fourth—Addison E. Mullikin, Republican.

Fifth—J. Enos Ray, Democrat.

Sixth—Brainard H. Warner, Jr., Republican.

The nominations of Konig, Linthicum and Ray on the Democratic side were the result of bitter primary contests. Konig defeated James Young and Charles P. Coady in the Third district. Linthicum's opponents were George Stewart Brown and James H. Preston, while Ray ran against Charles H. Stanley, of Laurel. Ray was chiefly nominated through the influence of Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., who believed with him he could redeem the Fifth District from Republican control. Thomas Parran, who was named by the Republicans to succeed Mr. Mudd, made a vigorous campaign and won, in spite of the handicaps of the Wilson ballot law and the manipulation of the ballot by the Democratic Supervisors in various counties of his district.

In the Sixth District, Colonel Pearre got out of the primary contest, and it was fought out by Gist Blair, B. H. Warner, Jr., and Alexander Hagner. Both Warner and Blair have homes in Montgomery county, but were more identified with Washington

than with Maryland. Hagner was from Washington county, but did not really figure in the fight. Mr. Warner's father, B. H. Warner, Sr., had two years before made an unsuccessful primary fight against Pearre, in the course of which he made a good many Republican enemies. It was the support of Judge John C. Motter, of Frederick county, that nominated Warner, notwithstanding the fact that President Taft was known to be behind Mr. Gist Blair, a personal friend and a high class man. Immediately the cry that young Warner was not a resident of the Sixth District, and that his election would make the district a pocket borough for Washington, was raised. Republicans by the hundreds supported Lewis. The Pearre element largely voted for him, Col. Pearre taking no part in the campaign, and Lewis was elected, having the distinction of being the first Democrat sent to Congress from that district since the election of McKaig, sixteen years before.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

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### The Crothers-Gaither Campaign for Governor and the Election to the Senate of John Walter Smith.

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Now, to go back to the 1907 State campaign, the importance of which it is hardly possible to exaggerate. The deaths of Senator Gorman and Mr. Rasin for a while left the Democratic party in city and State without real leadership. The local and the State organizations floundered about helplessly. The city situation was saved in the spring by the fortunate fact that Frank Brown had hold of the reins when Mr. Rasin was stricken, but after the election of Mahool and the local ticket, the State campaign presented a far more serious problem. The Gorman lieutenants throughout the State had no one to whom to look for guidance. Some of them—Talbott, for instance—had leadership and Senatorial aspirations of their own, but not one of them had the strength to weld together the many county leaders, or a sufficient number of them, to give him control. Down on the Eastern Shore, John Walter Smith, while preserving his party standing and holding his friends in all nine counties, had been out of sympathy and touch with the Gorman organization since his defeat for the Senate in 1904. Ex-Gov. E. E. Jackson controlled Wicomico, and, through William F. Applegarth, Dorchester. Joshua W. Miles was the power in Somerset, and Austin L. Crothers, then on the bench, in Cecil. John Walter Smith has the virtue of persistence developed to a remarkable degree. His defeat for the Senate by Rayner by no means meant the end of his fight. It merely encouraged him to keep on fighting, and he did. The chaotic condition of affairs following the death of Gorman gave him his opportunity, and he seized it with characteristic quickness and decision. His first move was made in Dorchester county, into which was sent his trusted friend, Wil-

liam Lee Carey—he of the guileless and child-like smile. It was the financial aid given the opponents of Applegarth in the primaries by Smith that enabled Smith's friends there—Emerson C. Harrington, Thomas C. B. Howard, W. Laird Henry and others—to beat the Applegarth forces in the primaries and name the delegates to the State Convention. Upon this Dorchester primary hinged the whole fight. Dorchester was the key to the whole situation, although few persons knew it. Without it, Smith could not have come to Baltimore to the State convention with a majority of the Eastern Shore counties behind him, and that end of the State would have been dominated by the hostile Jackson-Miles combination. It was Carey who pointed out the Dorchester opportunity.

Long before this the Smith people had been looking for a candidate for Governor behind whom to center their forces. Smith was personally strongly in favor of Col. Buchanan Schley, of Washington county, who had stood by him in 1904, and who always has his county behind him. The loyalty and friendship of Schley bound Smith to him with strong ties, and he would have gone to the "last ditch" with him, had not Colonel Schley himself realized that he could not get the newspaper support necessary to win, and magnanimously declined to embarrass his friends. The name of Austin L. Crothers was first mentioned in connection with the Governorship at the meeting of the State Bar Association held in July at Ocean City. There the announcement was made by Crothers' friends that he would not be a candidate to succeed himself as judge. This at once started speculation, and he was spoken of for both the Attorney-Generalship and the Governorship. He had neither in mind at the time, but had quietly determined for himself that his best interest lay in going back to Elkton and practicing law. Weeks after this, in canvassing the situation John Walter Smith and some of his closer friends, casually discussing Gubernatorial timber, talked of Crothers, and wondered how he would do. Senator Smith a day or so later sent for Crothers, and a conference was held in Smith's offices in the Union Trust Building, at which were, besides Crothers and Smith, Marion DeKalb Smith, of Kent county; Emerson Harrington and one or two other Eastern Shore Smith leaders.

Crothers said he had no desire for the Attorney-Generalship, and would not take the nomination for that office, but that if they wanted him to run for Governor he was willing to go into the fight. He explained he had no money, but Smith told him that was all right, and it was agreed that the Eastern Shore forces, so far as they could be controlled by Smith, would back him in the State convention. Colonel Schley was present at the conference, and pledged Washington county to Crothers, or to any other man whom Smith wanted. The agreement and the conference were kept secret, and no hint of Crothers for Governor escaped.

In the meantime Mr. Joseph D. Baker, of Frederick county, had declared himself a candidate, and was being enthusiastically supported by Frederick county Democrats. His candidacy was vigorously taken up by the BALTIMORE NEWS, then owned by Mr. Charles H. Grasty, which created a considerable sentiment in his favor. Mr. Baker was easily the leading citizen of Frederick, a splendid, big man of great ability and high character with friends all over the State, but absolutely unknown to the politicians. The knock out blow to his candidacy was delivered by himself in his letter declining to join the Democratic Club in Baltimore because liquor was sold in the club house. With characteristic frankness and fearlessness Mr. Baker made plain his position on the liquor question, and the last hope of nominating him for Governor went up with the explanation. Mr. Henry Williams, whose courage and unselfishness in twice leading the party in the city as its Mayoralty candidate, when there was not the least hope of winning, had endeared him to Democrats throughout Maryland, had been induced to stand as a candidate by the city people. (Democrats of all classes brought pressure to bear upon him to enter the fight, and John J. Mahon, as well as practically every smaller leader in the city organization, went voluntarily to Mr. Williams and pledged him their support as the city candidate. Ex-Governor Frank Brown was half in and half out of the fight. He had nominal control of the city forces, but not real control. Prince George's county, Carroll county and others were urging him to become a candidate, and every effort was made to make him take the nomination, it being generally conceded that with this county strength and the city votes he

could be nominated. He finally refused absolutely to be considered a candidate, and was considerably irritated by some of the unkind things said about him by Democratic leaders, from whom he had a right to expect better treatment. It was after Brown had definitely gotten out of the field that the city people pledged themselves to Mr. Williams, and it was just at this time—one day before the State convention, July 23—that Austin L. Crothers, accompanied by his nephew, Emerson C. Crothers, came to Baltimore, took a room at the Rennert and let it be known that he was in the field for the nomination. The desire of Smith was to solidify the Eastern Shore behind Crothers, and it had been agreed that Crothers should talk with Ex-Governor Jackson without allowing the Ex-Governor to realize that Smith had had anything to do with his candidacy, it being well understood that Jackson's hostility and jealousy toward Smith were such that suspicion that Smith had sent Crothers to him would immediately cause him to go the other way. Crothers talked with Jackson and Jackson agreed to support him, and further agreed to talk with Smith and try to induce him to fall in behind Crothers. Smith and Jackson conferred in the latter's room at the Rennert, and Jackson insisted that Smith ought to be for Crothers. Smith said he had no objection to Crothers, and that as he was an Eastern Shoreman he would support him. This solidified the Eastern Shore votes behind Crothers, but they did not stay solid. Smith had hardly gotten away from Jackson before someone told the Wicomico leader that Crothers had been Smith's candidate all the time, and that he was being fooled. Immediately the Ex-Governor withdrew his support from Crothers, and came out strongly for Henry Williams.

At this time Mr. Williams had fully 100 out of the 121 votes in the convention pledged to him. J. F. C. Talbott was his strongest supporter, and with him was Arthur P. Gorman, Jr. These two were, at the time, hostile to Smith, and realized that if Smith named the Gubernatorial candidate it would make him the State leader. If, however, they named the Governor, it would put Talbott in the position of leadership. Hence the Talbott-Gorman combination was strongly against Crothers and strongly for Williams. Democratic leaders from every county

and from every ward in the city gathered at the Rennert the day before the State convention, and excitement ran high. The Baker adherents—Frederick and Montgomery—did their utmost to get the support of Jackson. The Ex-Governor had partially pledged himself once to Mr. Baker, but declined to stay pledged. Mr. Williams, Mr. Baker and Mr. Crothers all had rooms in the hotel, and conferences were held all over the place. Trades and dickers were made only to be broken again, and the forces behind Mr. Williams apparently had everything in their hands. At midnight on the night before the convention these leaders were for Mr. Williams—Talbott, Gorman, Mahon, Jackson, Miles and Crouse. These, with the counties and city delegations they controlled, gave him at least 100 votes. Mr. Baker had the Montgomery and Frederick votes, and Crothers had the rest—about 15. John Walter Smith keenly realized the situation. He knew he was beaten, and beaten badly. He knew the opposition was determined not only to crush Crothers' Gubernatorial boom, but that their main object was to crush him, to put him out of the game as a State factor, to make his leadership of the party and his Senatorial aspirations, impossible. He was not able to muster but the scant 15 votes on the Eastern Shore. This, however, gave him a majority of that section, and in an Eastern Shore caucus he could control the situation for Crothers. The Jackson and Miles opposition, however, refused to enter an Eastern Shore caucus, realizing that with the Dorchester delegation Smith would have the whip hand. Had it not been for Dorchester, Smith's votes would have been a minority of the caucus, and Crothers would have had no standing. Beaten though he was, Smith refused to give up the fight. He went to bed that night, convinced he could not win, but determined to keep up the struggle until the roll call was held. It was at this juncture that the outside influences entered the field and turned the defeat that stared him in the face into overwhelming victory. One of the essentials to Democratic victory in the coming fight was the support of the Baltimore *SUN*. This was conceded on all sides. Therefore, when the management of *THE SUN*, in a guarded but none the less authoritative manner, let the word go out that *THE SUN* could not give to Mr. Williams its aggressive

support, and did not believe he could win, it simply knocked the props from under the Williams structure. The intimation was given that, while THE SUN thought highly of Mr. Williams personally, its opposition to him in 1895 and 1897 when he was a candidate for Mayor, tied its hands. Editorials from its own columns opposing Mr. Williams could be used in the fight, and the "deadly parallel" would be drawn in a way to render the efforts of the paper unavailing. When this attitude of THE SUN was supplemented by the apparently authentic statement that Mr. S. Davies Warfield, who was looked to by the Democratic organization to finance their campaign, fully agreed that a winning fight could not be made for Mr. Williams, his boom collapsed like a bubble. Leaders who had pledged themselves to him voluntarily deserted him without shame or compunction. Others had to be forced away from him, but in the end he was left with practically no support except the Talbott-Gorman combination which found itself in the position Smith had occupied the night before.

All this happened after the convention had convened. When that body was called to order, Mr. Williams had his 100 votes solidly. Talbott, Gorman, Mahon, Jackson and the others were jubilant over the defeat of Smith and his candidate. Smith and Crothers, both quiet, but determined, had little to say. Smith felt beaten, but declined to admit it. Crothers was philosophical about it, and would not have been greatly disappointed had his name not been presented. Isidor Rayner, holding a proxy from a city delegation, had pledged himself to Williams, and had in his pocket a speech with which he was to place him in nomination. Early in the morning, the city delegation had a meeting, attended by Ex-Governor Brown, John J. Mahon, Max Ways and other leaders. Ex-Governor Brown, who was in close touch with Mr. W. W. Abell, of THE SUN and Mr. S. Davies Warfield, advised the delegation to leave Williams and go to Crothers, giving his reasons for the belief that Williams could not win. After Governor Brown had finished, the delegation rejected his advice and re-endorsed Williams, and when they went to the convention Rayner was prepared to nominate him. When the convention was called to order by Murray Vandiver, the Williams peo-

ple dominated it completely. De Warren Reynolds, of Cumberland, was chosen as chairman, and the organization was quickly completed. Mr. Jackson did not come to the convention, but remained in his room at the Rennert. With him stayed Carroll W. Rasin and Harry Welles Rusk. Between these two Mr. Jackson was persuaded that he had made a big political mistake in opposing Crothers and favoring Williams. They told him THE SUN would not support Mr. Williams, and that the financial interests would not contribute to the campaign, and that it would be a second John E. Hurst fight. Finally, Mr. Jackson was induced to write with his own hand the following remarkable letter:

"Baltimore City Delegation:—If you have any regard for me do not nominate Williams. He will be beaten worse than Hurst, if what Rusk says is true. I beg of you to nominate Crothers.

"E. E. JACKSON."

As soon as he had written this letter Mr. Jackson gave it to Carroll Rasin, who called a carriage and drove to the Maryland Theatre. The convention had completed its organization, and was on the point of calling for nominations for Governor. In fifteen more minutes Mr. Williams would have had the nomination. Rasin sent the Jackson note to John Hannibal, chairman of the city delegation. Hannibal read it to the delegation, and it was immediately thrown into an uproar. Senator Rayner became terribly upset. He moved for a recess, stating that an important development had occurred which made it necessary for the city delegation to confer. The recess was taken, and back they all galloped to the hotel. There the excitement was tremendous. Every effort was made to get Mr. Jackson back to Williams, but this time the old man stuck. After great pressure had been brought to bear upon John Mahon he finally broke away from Mr. Williams, but wept at being compelled to violate his word. The situation so wrought upon Isidor Rayner that he became violently ill, but no one stood true to Mr. Williams. The city people simply deserted in a body, leaving him without a man to place his name before the convention, although he was unquestionably its choice. During the recess Crothers had conferences



MURRAY VANDIVER.



with Mr. Warfield and others, and when at 2 o'clock the convention reconvened he had the votes. He was placed in nomination by William S. Evans, of Cecil county. The only other name presented was that of Joseph D. Baker, who was named by George Williams Smith, of Frederick. The vote was:

Crothers, 113½; Baker, 14.

Baker got three votes from Anne Arundel, besides his Frederick and Montgomery votes. One of the Anne Arundel votes was cast by Edwin Warfield.

Then Crothers' nomination was made unanimous. Few men in Maryland have been accorded as shabby treatment as that given Mr. Williams in this contest, and some of the men who deserted him are still ashamed of themselves, and they ought to be. After the Governorship had been gotten out of the way the rest was simple. Smith's supremacy was at once conceded, and he named the rest of the ticket, yielding to the city pressure for Isaac Lobe Straus for Attorney-General chiefly because of the belief that this, too, would strengthen the ticket with *THE SUN*. Mr. Straus was placed in nomination by Mr. S. Gross Horwitz and his nomination was unanimous, although there had been considerable opposition to him before, Senator Rayner being one of those who would have preferred someone else. Dr. Joshua W. Hering was named for Comptroller by Smith, and his nomination was acceptable to all factions, he being one Democrat whom everyone liked. C. C. Magruder was nominated for Clerk of the Court of Appeals to satisfy Southern Maryland claims, being placed in nomination by Robert W. Wells, of Prince George's county.

There was a lively fight over the platform, chiefly due to the Senatorial primary resolution offered by Governor Warfield. Among the Senatorial aspirants at that time were Joshua W. Miles, Edwin Warfield, J. F. C. Talbott and John Walter Smith. Warfield and Miles made the fight in the committee on resolution for the Senatorial primaries. There were some heated tilts between these two and Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., and Colonel Schley, but in the end the resolution was adopted, and it became binding upon the party to hold Senatorial primaries on the day of the election. This was the most radical and progressive step

taken by a Democratic convention in years, and so far as the Democrats were concerned, it took completely out of the hands of the Legislature the naming of the Senator. After the adoption of the platform, the convention adjourned, going down in history as one of the most remarkable ever held by the party in Maryland.

One week later it was followed by the Republican State Convention, which nominated this ticket:

For Governor—George R. Gaither, Jr.

For Comptroller—James H. Baker, of Kent county.

For Attorney-General—Hammond G. Urner, of Frederick county.

For Clerk of the Court of Appeals—Thomas Parran, of Calvert county.

In its way, the Republican convention was almost as remarkable as that of the Democrats, although it lacked wholly the tumultuous nature that characterized the latter. It was a cut-and-dried affair, wholly dominated by Sydney E. Mudd and William H. Jackson. Back of the action of the convention, however, there was also a newspaper influence that forced a change in the plans of the leaders. Mudd and Jackson originally intended to nominate Phillips Lee Goldsborough, of Dorchester county. They had the votes with which to do it, too, and prior to the assembling of the convention the general belief was that Goldsborough would be nominated. The Baltimore EVENING NEWS, then controlled by Mr. Charles H. Grasty, was, however, strongly in favor of Mr. Gaither. THE NEWS, in its capacity of an independent paper, had for weeks boomed the cause of Joseph D. Baker, on the Democratic side, and Gaither on the Republican side. Failing to nominate Baker, it made the fight for Mr. Gaither all the more determinedly. The Republican leaders did not want Mr. Gaither for Governor. They vastly preferred Mr. Goldsborough, whom Jackson could count upon to aid him in his Senatorial ambitions. Goldsborough was his friend and Gaither was not. Mudd also much preferred the Dorchester county man, but was astute enough to realize that without newspaper support of any sort, the fight would be a hopeless one. It was made plain to Mudd that if Gaither was nominated THE NEWS would make a hot cam-

paign for the Republican ticket, and if he were not nominated they would be, to say the least, indifferent. Yielding to this situation, Mr. Goldsborough's nomination was abandoned and Gaither named. Goldsborough was unquestionably the choice of the convention almost to the extent that Williams was the choice of the Democrats. He was one of the strongest men in his party and was besides a man of high character and unquestioned ability and integrity. He had, however, been active for many years in Republican politics, and his political friendship for Mudd and Jackson was counted against him. Up to within a few days before the convention he had been assured of the nomination. The night before the convention, after conferences had been held by some of the leaders with THE NEWS people, Goldsborough announced his withdrawal. Mudd and Jackson immediately declared they had been for Goldsborough as long as he was in the fight, but that he having withdrawn, they were now for Gaither. Mr. Jackson made the remark to the writer that "Me and Sydney had the votes to nominate Goldsborough," and it was certainly true. This remark of "Uncle Bill's was made an issue in the campaign by the Democrats. There was bitter disappointment among Mr. Goldsborough's friends, but he, himself, manfully took his medicine and went into the convention, making an impassioned nominating speech for Mr. Gaither. The convention was run by Mr. Mudd in just the way he wanted it. He wrote the platform and picked the candidates, gave orders right and left, and everything he wanted was done. No more abject exhibition of a boss-ridden convention has ever been given in Maryland. From start to finish Mudd was the whole show, and the prominence with which this was brought out handicapped Mr. Gaither from the start.

In the campaign that followed, there was a newspaper war as well as a political war. THE SUN gave to Crothers and the Democratic ticket a support that taxed its every resource. THE NEWS made the strongest fight for Gaither possible for it to make. THE SUN had much to do in bringing about the nomination of Crothers, and THE NEWS was largely instrumental in sidetracking Goldsborough and naming Gaither. Success or failure meant much to each, and every nerve was strained by the

two papers to win their respective candidates. THE NEWS, early in the game, sent a staff correspondent into Cecil county, where he was furnished with a lot of information concerning Crothers' political career by Frank Williams, Joshua Clayton and other Republican opponents of Crothers, in which Crothers was represented as guilty of the worst forms of political graft and practices. These charges were sprung by THE NEWS in a terrific broadside, which it had been calculated would knock the very bottom out of the Crothers campaign. THE SUN answered the attack the next day fully and completely, printing a specific reply to each charge, and publishing interviews from leading Republicans, as well as Democrats, clergymen and citizens generally denouncing the charges as unfair, unfounded and unjustified, and affirming their confidence in Crothers' honesty and integrity. THE SUN's answer was more complete than THE NEWS' charges, and the cry of "mud slinging" was at once raised with marked effect. Soon after this Crothers made his speech of acceptance at the Lyric, and was the same night taken sick. He went to the Rennert, and in two days his illness was diagnosed as typhoid fever, and he insisted upon going home to Elkton. From that time until after the election he lay at the Felton House in a critical condition, taking no part whatever in the campaign and knowing nothing about it. For a while the Democrats were demoralized by his illness, and there was some talk of recalling the State convention and nominating another candidate. Smith, however, put his foot down on this, and the fight went on for Crothers. Soon after Crothers was stricken, Mr. W. W. Abell, then the managing publisher and mainspring of THE SUN also contracted typhoid fever, and was prevented from giving his personal direction to THE SUN campaign. Notwithstanding this, the fight THE SUN made was an able and effective one. Although Mr. Gai-ther was conspicuously a high-class man, of unblemished character, acknowledged ability and independence, and attractive in many ways, the manner of his nomination was a heavy drag upon his candidacy. Mudd and Jackson were too much of a load. The independent leaders balked at the combination, and many of them who had supported Republican tickets in the past—Roger W. Cull, William L. Marbury, Francis K. Carey and

others—came out openly for Crothers. These men had consistently been with THE NEWS in its former fights, and their support of the Gaither candidacy had been counted upon. Crothers was held up by the Republican orators and organs as a political thug, a grafter, a man of doubtful integrity and a bad record. Toward the last of the campaign, while Crothers was still ill, the Cecil county charges were revived by THE NEWS, but they proved a boomerang. The Crothers campaign was financed by S. Davies Warfield and John Walter Smith. These two men put up the money—or most of it. The total cost to Crothers for his nomination and election was \$4.50—the amount of his hotel bill at the Rennert. Mr. Gaither and his running mate, Hammond G. Urner, made a vigorous campaign, but the tide was against him. Mr. Gaither declined to join in the "mud slinging" at his opponent, and ignored altogether the charges that were made against him. Crothers himself declined to make any answer to the charges or to notice them in any way. They were, however, completely answered by the facts.

The Democratic Gubernatorial campaign was complicated greatly by the Senatorial primaries, held under the resolution offered by Mr. Warfield and adopted by the State convention. At the solicitation of representatives of THE SUN, Ex-Governor Warfield entered the Democratic Senatorial primaries as a candidate. THE SUN people wanted him in the fight because they believed his candidacy would bring to the support of Crothers many votes that would otherwise remain at home. Warfield had a big following in the State, which desired his nomination as Governor, and felt that he had been turned down by the organization, notwithstanding the fact that he had explained he did not desire to be Governor again. Warfield was induced to enter the primaries as a Senatorial candidate, and made several speeches in the campaign urging the election of Crothers. Joshua W. Miles also sent in his name as a candidate for the Senate, as did Frank Brown. Both of these withdrew, however, at the last minute, Miles because he saw the organization intended to support Smith, and he stood no chance, and Brown because after a conference with Smith, held in his office, he became convinced that inasmuch as Smith was financing to a large extent the State

campaign, he was entitled to the Senatorship. Congressman Talbott announced himself as a candidate, and made a vigorous campaign throughout the State. The primaries were held on the same day as the general election, and resulted in a sweeping and overwhelming victory for John Walter Smith, the vote being taken by Smith's friends everywhere as a signal vindication and triumph for him. He not only gained the big majority of the counties, but he got a big plurality of the total vote cast in the State, the vote for the three candidates being as follows:

	Whyte.	Talbott.	Warfield.	Smith.
Allegany .....	1,611	1,018	748	995
Anne Arundel.....	2,497	1,090	1,383	802
Baltimore City—				
1st Legislative District.	4,688	527	2,160	5,731
2nd Legislative District	7,255	1,992	4,898	4,842
3rd Legislative District.	7,000	1,361	5,456	4,430
4th Legislative District	4,368	366	2,526	4,967
Baltimore county.....	7,628	7,135	2,229	363
Calvert .....	302	3	71	613
Caroline .....	1,210	21	207	1,117
Carroll .....	2,631	477	1,473	1,141
Cecil .....	1,961	137	570	1,386
Charles .....	627	25	73	776
Dorchester .....	1,695	27	69	1,980
Frederick .....	2,687	67	1,734	2,088
Garrett .....	647	37	444	248
Harford .....	2,310	1,557	1,021	254
Howard .....	1,092	39	854	1,089
Kent .....	1,350	8	719	1,136
Montgomery .....	2,659	30	1,211	1,858
Prince George's.....	1,639	70	505	1,371
Queen Anne.....	1,306	10	354	1,082
Somerset .....	1,440	90	60	1,473
St. Mary's.....	756	4	213	829
Talbot .....	1,402	35	155	1,508

Washington .....	2,433	73	811	1,947
Wicomico .....	1,697	14	201	2,131
Worcester .....	1,399	1	55	1,974
	—	—	—	—
	66,290	16,214	30,200	48,131

For the short term, ending March 4, 1909, William Pinkney Whyte received 66,290 votes.

For the term beginning March 4, 1909:

John Walter Smith received.....48,131 votes.

Edwin Warfield received.....30,200 votes.

J. F. C. Talbott received.....16,214 votes.

In the general election Crothers won by a majority of 9,369, and the Democrats gained a two-thirds majority in the Legislature. The candidates for city offices elected on the Democratic ticket were as follows:

For Judge of the Supreme Court—James P. Gorter, Alfred S. Niles.

For Clerk of the Superior Court—Stephen C. Little.

For Clerk of the Circuit Court No. 2—John Pleasants.

For Sheriff—Robert J. Padgett.

For State's Attorney—Albert S. J. Owens.

For City Surveyor—Raleigh C. Thomas.

For Judges of the Orphans' Court—Myer J. Block, Harry C. Gaither, William Dunn.

Some of the defeated Republican candidates were William Hall Harris and Lewis Putzel for Judge; Robert Ogle, for Clerk of the Superior Court; Thomas A. Robinson, for Clerk of the Circuit Court; William O. Atwood, for Surveyor; Levi P. Thompson, for Sheriff, and Frederick T. Dorton, for State's Attorney.

The Legislature of 1908 chosen at this election was as follows:

#### THE SENATE.

Allegany—\*John B. Shannon, Democrat.

Anne Arundel—James R. Brashears, Democrat.

Baltimore City—(First District)—Charles P. Coady, Democrat; (Second District)—Peter J. Campbell, Democrat; (Third

District)—J. Charles Linthicum, Democrat; (Fourth District)—\*Charles W. Jones, Republican.

Baltimore County—John S. Biddison, Democrat.

Calvert—Lewis McK. Griffith, Republican.

Caroline—\*Wm. Winder Goldsborough, Democrat.

Carroll—Johnzie E. Beasman, Democrat.

Cecil—\*Joseph I. France, Republican.

Charles—\*S. Spearman Lancaster, Republican.

Dorchester—\*Joseph B. Andrews, Republican.

Frederick—John P. T. Matthias, Republican.

Garrett—\*W. McCulloh Brown, Republican.

Harford—\*William B. Baker, Republican.

Howard—Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., Democrat.

Kent—William M. Slay, Democrat.

Montgomery—\*Blair Lee, Democrat.

Prince George's—\*William B. Clagett, Democrat.

Queen Anne's—John Frank Harper, Democrat.

Somerset—Lewis M. Milbourne, Democrat.

St. Mary's—\*Francis F. Greenwell, Fusionist.

Talbot—\*Gen. Joseph B. Seth, Democrat.

Washington—Harry E. Baker, Republican.

Worcester—\*John P. Moore, Democrat.

Wicomico—Jesse D. Price, Democrat.

(\*Holdovers (elected in 1905).

Democrats, 17. Republicans, 9. Fusion, 1. Total, 27.

#### HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Allegany—Frank Lee Carl, D. Ellsworth Dick, Andrew M. Smith, John J. Stump, Republicans; William J. Ford, Democrat.

Anne Arundel—A. Theodore Brady, George T. Murray, Chas. Ashby Duvall, Gassaway Dawson, Democrats.

Baltimore City—(First Legislative District)—Edgar N. Ash, Wm. J. Carrick, Henry Klase, D. C. McGonigle, James A. McQuade, William B. Smith, Democrats. (Second Legislative District)—Robert H. Carr, Allen C. Girdwood, Jos. A. Kuebel, D. J. McGovern, T. J. Sheubrooks, Elias T. Zirkler, Democrats. (Third Legislative District)—J. A. Dawkins, M. J. Dunn, M. Lehmayr,

A. J. McColgan, W. M. Maloy, T. L. Marriott, Democrats. (Fourth Legislative District)—C. L. J. Carroll, Democrat; L. R. Cornthwaite, J. E. Goodwin, W. H. Pairo, T. L. Parks, W. Weisgerber, Republicans.

Baltimore County—Carville, D. Benson, W. F. Coghlan, Michael P. Kehoe, John Mays Little, W. George Marley, Charles M. Snyder, Democrats.

Calvert—John W. Peterson, Democrat; Edward H. Jones, Republican.

Caroline—James R. Phillips, Theodore Saulsbury, Democrats.

Carroll—Jacob A. Frederick, Robert Lee Myers, Caleb W. Selby, Democrats; Richard Smith, Republican.

Cecil—James C. McCauley, J. Wilson Squier, C. J. Yerkes, Democrats.

Charles—Clarence R. Burroughs, G. T. Clagett Gray, Republicans.

Dorchester—Charles G. Satterfield, Edward S. Phillips, Chas. S. Jackson, Republican; Daniel M. Webster, Democrat.

Frederick—Aaron R. Anders, John C. Castle, Charles C. Eyler, Samuel T. Hickman, Harry J. Kefauver, Republicans.

Garrett—Lawrence F. Green, Jacob S. Myers, Republicans.

Harford—Martin L. Jarrett, Harry C. Lawder, Walter R. McComas, Joseph S. Whiteford, Democrats.

Howard—William Howard Brown, Matthew H. Gill, Democrats.

Kent—James S. Harris, Harry C. Willis, Democrats.

Montgomery—Preston B. Ray, James Dawson Williams, Geo. T. Waters, Andrew J. Cummings, Democrats.

Prince George's—James Enos Ray, Jr., Samuel Marvin Peach, Democrats; George M. Bond, Oliver Samuel Metzerrott, Republicans.

Queen Anne's—Woolsey James Massey, Dudley George Roe, John P. Roe, Democrats.

Somerset—Lorie C. Quinn, Lybrand Thomas, H. L. D. Stanford, Democrats.

St. Mary's—Chas. V. Hayden, Jr., Democrat; Horace M. Bowling, Republican.

Talbot—William J. Jackson, J. Edward Mortimer, George C. Moore, Democrats.

Washington—John B. Beard, Republican; Benedict J. Boswell, Democrat; Thompson A. Brown, Thaddeus A. Wastler, George T. Prather, Republicans.

Wicomico—Roscoe Jones, Ernest B. Timmons, John W. Willing, Democrats.

Worcester—Henry B. Pilchard, Robley D. Jones, Severn Murray, Democrats.

House of Delegates—Democrats, 71; Republicans, 30. Democratic majority, 41.

On Joint Ballot—Democrats, 88; Republicans, 39; Fusion, 1. Democratic majority, 48.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

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### The Features of the Crothers Administration—How He Paid His Political Debts and the Break with John Walter Smith—Legislature of 1910.

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The first half of Governor Crothers' administration was singularly successful. He did not strike the rocks at all until the Legislature of 1910. Elected under the charge of being an organization Democrat, and a politician of the most practical kind, he proceeded to demonstrate that the knowledge and experience thus acquired, helped, rather than handicapped, the right man in making a mighty fine Governor. And he did make a good Governor—one of the best the State has ever had, giving far more time and attention to the office than any other man who held it, and developing progressive policies that led to the enactment of some of the most important laws on the statute books. To his efforts chiefly is due the present Corrupt Practices Act, the Public Utilities Commission Act, the increase in the collateral inheritance tax, the general direct primary election law and other important pieces of legislation. The biggest proposition inaugurated by Crothers and published by him, however, was the Good Roads law creating a loan of six million dollars, and beginning the construction of a system of State roads throughout Maryland. These and other things done for the State of a wholly non-political character stand to his credit, and while toward the close of his administration he made some mistakes and many bitter political enemies, losing much of his prestige and popularity, all fair-minded men recognized that the State owed him much. He was a real working Governor, who took his job seriously and accomplished much.

Crothers felt when he took his seat that he had gained the Governorship largely through the help of three men—John Walter Smith, S. Davies Warfield and W. W. Abell. He tried to

discharge his obligations to them in his appointments, and no Governor has ever used the patronage to pay political debts to the extent that he did. Yet, upon the whole, they were good appointments, and except in one or two cases, high-class and capable men—Democrats, all of them. For his city boards—the Police, Liquor License and Elections—particularly good selections were made, which appealed to public sentiment, showed that Crothers placed the interests of the city and State above those of the party, and yet, did not offend the politicians, who recognized that he proposed to give the organization all he decently could. His stand was that it would weaken rather than strengthen the party to attempt to control politically these boards, and he was right. In his first appointment, that of Secretary of State, he was fortunate in naming a man so free from political alliances, and of such acknowledged character and ability—N. Winslow Williams—as to start his administration out on a high plane, and enable him later to make an appointment like William J. Garland without violent criticism. Crothers' own choice for Secretary of State was John Hannibal, and he had intimated to Hannibal his intention of appointing him. Senator Smith desired to make his friend, W. Laird Henry. Mr. Williams' name had never been mentioned. He named him without having seen him, and the appointment was generally credited to the influence of THE SUN and Mr. Warfield. Later the Governor took good care of Laird Henry, first by making him Land Commissioner and then Judge of the Court of Appeals. The balance of his Green Bag was made up after consultation with the Democratic leaders in counties and city, but in nearly every case the wishes of Senator Smith dominated, and his friends not only in the counties, but in the city as well, were given the offices. It was Smith who forced the appointments of both Garland and James W. Lewis as police magistrates, over the heads of the local organization leaders. It was Smith's influence that put Lloyd L. Jackson on the Board of Election Supervisors, and it was State Senator Gorman who kept Eugene E. Grannan off the Police Board. In the final announcements John J. Mahon and his friends in the city acquiesced, although they had not been given their choice in all they thought they should, and there was considerable talk among them as to

the overwhelming dominance of Smith in the appointments. Still, they were satisfied, and loud in their praises of the Governor as a Democrat, who was man enough not to turn his back on the organization after the election. At the Legislature of 1908, Carville D. Benson, of Baltimore county, was Speaker of the House, and General Joseph B. Seth, of Talbot county, President of the Senate. The two things that happened of chief political interest were the election to the Senate of John Walter Smith and the passage of the second amendment to disfranchise the negroes. The election of Senator Smith had been settled by the primaries, and there was, of course, no fight; but it was the occasion for great rejoicing upon the part of his friends throughout Maryland, who had been loyal to him throughout the four years after his defeat in 1904. This loyalty and love of his friends is one of the greatest tributes to the fine nature and character of Senator Smith, and has always been his chief political asset. He has more personal friends, who will stay with him through defeat as through victory, than any other man in politics in the State, and it is also fair to say that there is no incident on record where Smith did not stand by his friends. That has been his creed in politics: "Stand by your friends and tell the truth," and it is the living up to this doctrine that has gained him every political triumph he ever had and landed him finally in the Senate, where the same creed has made him popular with his Senatorial colleagues and enabled him to accomplish much for his State that no other man could have done. In the Senate, he is loved by Democrats and Republicans, and has been a credit to both his State and himself.

After Smith's election came the death of William Pinkney Whyte, then serving out the unexpired term of Senator Gorman, and re-elected without opposition by the same Legislature that elected Smith. Upon his death, several candidates developed—Joshua W. Miles, John P. Poe and others. There was danger of a fight, and Smith's friends insisted that he take the short as well as the long term. He yielded and was chosen without a struggle.

The Democratic leaders acted with wisdom in framing the new suffrage amendment, to which the party was pledged. Profiting

by the mistakes of the past, under the leadership of Isaac Lobe Straus, attorney General, a conference was called. To it Mr. Straus invited the best and biggest lawyers of the State, many of them men who had violently opposed the Poe amendment. Some of those who joined with him in the framing of the measure were Bernard Carter, William Shepherd Bryan, Jr., William L. Marbury, Roger W. Cull, Leigh Bonsal, Arthur W. Machen, John P. Poe, W. Cabell Bruce, John E. Semmes, Edwin Warfield, Randolph Barton and others. For weeks, the subject was exhaustively discussed and hearings were held. Finally, the committee of lawyers agreed on an amendment, that eliminated every objectionable feature of the Poe amendment and was as fair a proposition of the kind as has ever been presented. It was known as the Straus amendment and was put through the Legislature by the three fifths Democratic majority, the Republicans protesting but not filibustering. It was promptly signed by the Governor and there seemed to be an united party behind it.

After the Legislature adjourned, there came the 1908 Presidential campaign. Crothers went out to Denver as a delegate from Maryland and upon his return pitched into the fight for Bryan and spoke all over the State. His relations at the time with all the party leaders were close and cordial, notwithstanding the fact that he had begun to develop his progressive policies. He had passed the Good Roads loan at Annapolis and allowed the newspapers to force on him the appointment as members of the State Road Commission, the Geological Survey element—Dr. Ira Remsen, William Bullock Clark and Samuel A. Shoemaker. He placed at the head of the commission his personal friend, John M. Tucker, who did not want the place, but took it because of his desire to aid the Governor. Mr. Tucker, in the course of his work, was subjected to a great deal of unfair and unjust criticism. No more conscientious, faithful or efficient man could have been chosen. Upon many propositions, however, the commission was deadlocked, with Crothers, Tucker and Frank Hutton on one side, and the Geological Survey members on the other. The politicians, however, were not specially interested in this, but when Crothers began to put forth ideas of economy, heretofore unsuggested, they did begin to pull back. It

was when this became apparent that he made the public announcement that under no circumstances would he be a candidate for renomination, nor would he aspire to the Senate. At the time, the politicians were all for him for another term, and he had gained for himself large support from the independent element. He made his announcement for the sole purpose of convincing the organization people that he had no ulterior or selfish motive in urging the things for which he stood. They were, however, unconvinced, and when he came out for Direct Primaries, a Public Utilities Commission, the Oregon plan of electing United States Senators and other progressive propositions, they began to break away, and asked, "What's the matter with Crothers, anyhow?" While he consulted the leaders about places, the Governor did not consult them about his policies, and the result was that each successive reform advocated came to them as a shock, and a rift opened between him and the State leaders. He began to lose some of his popularity, being too much of an organization Democrat to wholly suit the reformers and too much of a reformer to suit altogether the politicians. In three notable instances, Crothers acted with extreme promptness in dealing with Democratic office-holders against whom charges of corruption had been made. One of these was in the case of Jacob G. Schonfarber, for many years Deputy Labor Statistician, whom he forced to resign. Similarly prompt action was taken in the cases of William J. Garland and Harry Goldman, both of them police magistrates. Garland was charged with having tried to influence a jury and Goldman with having accepted money from Thomas A. Robinson, Republican, to help defeat John Pleasants, Democratic candidate for Clerk of the Circuit Court. From Republican newspapers the Governor was subjected to violent attack because of his leanings toward the organization, while the organization people were grumbling because he was trying to carry them forward too fast, and they could not get all they wanted. He stirred up things a good deal among the State office-holders, by insisting upon rigid economy in purchasing supplies and conducting their offices. He likewise amazed the politicians by forming a Governor's Cabinet, composed of himself, the State Treasurer, State Comptroller, Secre-

tary of State and Attorney-General. With this Cabinet he discussed State questions and party policies. He called for quarterly instead of biennial reports from the different State Department and State officials, and instituted many reforms and changes, all of which caused the politicians to pull back in alarm. They intimated that he was going too far, and that all these ideas were unnecessary and uncalled-for. The first real break came at the State Convention of 1909, at which time Crothers, on a question of party policy, differed with John Walter Smith, and by a combination with J. F. C. Talbott, Joshua W. Miles and John J. Mahon, succeeded in forcing into the State platform of that year his own ideas. Mr. Talbott had been unfriendly with Smith ever since the Senatorial primaries in which Smith was victorious. Talbott believed he was entitled to the Senatorship, and thought Smith should not have had the support of the local organization. He was accordingly willing to go into a combination to discomfort Smith at the State Convention. So also was Miles, who had been since 1900, politically hostile to Smith.

The convention was held on August 11th, and Crothers, who while he had begun to make some political enemies, was still strong with the party people, presided. There were twenty-four hours of fighting among the delegates and leaders prior to the convention, and almost as long a struggle after it met. In the end, the Crothers-Talbott-Mahon-Miles combination prevailed, and there was inserted in the platform over the heads of Smith and his friends a plank pledging the party to a Public Utilities Commission, and a plank pledging the party to give the city of Baltimore increased representation in the House of Delegates according to population, while in the Senate the representation of the city was to be based upon the population of the largest county as the unit. The county people generally under the leadership of Senator Smith and Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., fought this proposition vigorously. The plan was suggested by William L. Marbury, who was induced to accept a proxy from Baltimore county and attend the convention as a delegate. At the time it looked as if there would be a fight on the floor, and Mr. Talbott was willing to have Mr. Marbury represent his county and speak for it. The real fight, however, was in the resolutions commit-

tee, and there the Crothers-Talbott-Mahon people won. The platform as reported from the committee was unanimously adopted, and then Marbury was called to the stage by the Governor and made a ringing speech, in which he pledged himself to support the suffrage amendment, which had been made the vital issue in the platform.

One sensational feature of the convention which was never made public, but which everyone knew, was the reason why there was no endorsement by the convention of the candidacy of Senator Rayner to succeed himself in the Senate. Some time before the convention Senator Rayner had been anxious for an endorsement by the convention. He had no opposition, and no one was mentioned as a candidate against him. Senator Smith and State Senator Gorman advised him against having an endorsement, and declared that to have the convention pass a resolution for him would be to make the primaries a farce, inasmuch as it would pledge the party in advance, and shut the door in the face of all other aspirants. They told him there would be no candidate in the primaries against him, and that they thought there should be no endorsement. This apparently did not satisfy Mr. Rayner and his friends in the city delegation, John J. Mahon and others, had every intention of offering the resolution. On the night before the convention, when the leaders all gathered at the Rennert, State Senator Arthur P. Gorman heard that a Rayner resolution would be presented in the convention by the city people. He was in his room at the time, and sent his secretary, Richard Preece, to tell Mr. Rayner he wanted to see him. Mr. Rayner came down and Mr. Gorman told him in effect this: "Rayner, I understand that the city people are going to offer a resolution endorsing you for the Senatorship. I want to tell you that if any such resolution is offered, I will not only fight it on the floor, but I will be a candidate against you in the primaries, and I will give the organization more money than you can give them. Now, you go ahead and offer your resolution, if you want to." It is also said that Mr. Gorman threatened to charge Mr. Rayner with having bought his election to the Senate in 1904. After this conversation between himself and Mr. Rayner, Mr. Gorman came down into another room, where most of the leaders were gath-

ered in conference, and there related what he had told Mr. Rayner and reiterated his intention of being a candidate if the resolution were offered. Everybody there knew, too, he meant what he said. The resolution was never offered. Mr. Rayner entered the primaries, and, as Smith and Gorman predicted, there was no candidate against him, and he got a unanimous vote. Mr. Gorman's friends have always regretted that he did not make the fight against Rayner at this time, and contended that this was his great political opportunity, the conditions being such at the time as to have enabled him to have beaten him easily. He would have had the organization support, and *THE SUN*, which was originally responsible for Mr. Rayner's elevation to the Senate, was not then as strongly pro-Rayner as it had been. It would have supported him but not with that intensity shown in 1904. One of the marvels of Maryland politics was Mr. Rayner's election to the Senate by the Legislature of 1910. He got every Democratic vote in the Legislature, and had no opposition in the primaries. Yet, it is a fact that he had neither the personal nor the political friendship of a single Democratic leader of importance in the State, and an overwhelming majority of the Democrats who voted for him in the Legislature would have preferred to have voted for someone else. A man of great ability and eloquence, he possesses no real political strength and has never been a political factor within the organization. He has, however, always had a following outside of politics, which, with the support of the newspapers, has kept him in high office for many years. Probably no man holding public office today has more enemies among the politicians in his own party than has he. His success has been in a great measure due to the fear among the politicians of the newspapers, which have almost invariably supported him. Particularly, has this been the case with *THE SUN*.

The Democratic State Convention of 1909 renominated Joshua W. Hering for State Comptroller. The Republican Convention, which met a week later, adopted a Public Utilities plank, a city representation plank and an anti-suffrage amendment plank. It also nominated for the Comptrollership Frank Williams, of Cecil county. In the campaign that followed, the two figures most prominently to the front on the Democratic side were Gov-

ernor Crothers and William L. Marbury, who stumped the State, spoke together in many meetings and everywhere did their utmost for the ticket and the suffrage amendment. Senator Smith made several speeches—one at Belair, another at Chestertown and another in Baltimore city, and the whole party appeared unitedly behind the measure and the ticket. John Mahon, who plays the game straight, and keeps his word in politics as he does in his personal affairs, did all he could for the amendment, as did his friends. In addition, THE SUN, which during the Poe amendment fight, had sat on the fence, made a red-hot campaign for the measure. Its defeat was a bitter blow to the men who believed the best interest of the State demanded the elimination of the illiterate and venal negro vote. Its defeat convinced them that the last hope of carrying through such an amendment in Maryland had been lost. Its defeat was chiefly due to the misapprehension among foreign-born voters caused by the misrepresentation of the amendment made by Republican orators and Republican newspapers. Under it, these white foreign-born voters were amply protected, but they were convinced otherwise, and voted almost solidly against it. Its defeat sounded the death knell of negro disfranchisement in Maryland. Leading figures in the fight against the amendment were Charles J. Bonaparte, George R. Gaither and others. Some of the men who were on the Straus committee that helped frame the measure—such as Leigh Bonsal—also opposed it. It received about four-fifths of the total white vote cast, but the combination of 50,000 negroes, and the same number of foreign-born voters, together with the white Republicans, were sufficient to overwhelm it. The city candidates elected that year were:

Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas—Adam Deupert.

Clerk of the Circuit Court—William Carson.

Surveyor—William O. Atwood.

Register of Wills—Howard Jackson.

Clerk of Criminal Court—Sam W. Pattison.

Judges of the Supreme Bench—Charles W. Heuisler, Henry Duffy.

Sheriff—John J. Hanson.

The candidates defeated were:

Clerk of Court of Common Pleas—J. Webb Thomas.

Clerk of Circuit Court—Max Ways.

Surveyor—Raleigh C. Thomas.

Register of Wills—Napoleon B. Lobe.

Clerk of Criminal Court—George W. Padgett.

Judges of the Supreme Bench—Martin Lehman, Lewis Putzel.

Sheriff—Louis D. Greene.

The defeat of Max Ways was a particularly unfortunate one from the Democratic standpoint. Mr. Ways was one of the most capable and efficient officials who ever held the Clerkship, and was personally popular in the city. He was beaten because of treachery toward him upon the part of several Democratic ward leaders, who were jealous of his influence with Senator Smith and John Mahon, both of whom trusted him and had confidence in his judgment and integrity.

The Legislature of 1910 elected this year was as follows:

#### THE SENATE.

Allegany—Fredk. N. Zihlman, Republican.

Anne Arundel—A. Theodore Brady, Democrat.

Baltimore City—(District 1)—\*Chas. P. Coady, Democrat; (District 2)—\*Peter J. Campbell, Democrat; (District 3)—\*J. Chas. Linthicum, Democrat; (District 4)—Albert M. Sproesser, Republican.

Baltimore County—\*John S. Biddison, Democrat.

Calvert—\*Lewis McK. Griffith, Republican.

Caroline—Lewis E. Goslin, Democrat.

Carroll—\*Johnzie E. Beasman, Democrat.

Cecil—Omar D. Crothers, Democrat.

Charles—William J. Frere, Democrat.

Dorchester—J. Hooper Bosley, Democrat.

Frederick—\*John P. T. Matthias, Republican.

Garrett—Harvey J. Speicher, Republican.

Harford—Chas. A. Andrew, Democrat.

Howard—\*A. P. Gorman, Jr., Democrat.

Kent—\*William M. Slay, Democrat.

Montgomery—Blair Lee, Democrat.  
Prince George's—Dr. Chas. A. Wells, Democrat.  
Queen Anne's—\*John Frank Harper, Democrat.  
Somerset—\*Lewis M. Milburn, Democrat.  
St. Mary's—Washington Wilkinson, Republican.  
Talbot—Richard S. Dodson, Democrat.  
Washington—Dr. D. C. R. Miller, Democrat.  
Wicomico—\*Jesse D. Price, Democrat.  
Worcester—John P. Moore, Democrat.

## HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Allegany—Frank Lee Carl, Gustav Knierim, John Abbott, Walter W. Wittig, Conrad J. Herpich, Republicans.

Anne Arundel—George T. Murray, Oden Bowie Duckett, Charles L. Tate, Benj. Watkins, Jr., Democrats.

Baltimore City—(First Legislative District)—William J. Coyne, J. A. McQuade, Democrats; Robert J. Beacham, John A. Janetzke, Louis E. Melis, Charles W. Main, Republicans.

(Second Legislative District)—W. H. Juerss, M. C. Slemmer, Louis W. Rahe, A. C. Girdwood, Robert H. Carr, F. W. Wilcox, Democrats.

(Third Legislative District)—John W. Hogan, Dr. T. A. Ashby, J. A. Dawkins, T. L. Marriott, Chas. W. Grant, Democrats; George Eldridge, Republican.

(Fourth Legislative District)—W. Harry Pairo, R. N. Scheckells, Gustav Krause, Frank T. Yates, Fredk. J. Peusch, Thomas L. Parks, Republicans.

Baltimore County—Carville D. Benson, William F. Coghlan, Charles M. Snyder, J. Howard Fox, William Frederick Glantz, Harry S. Morfoot, Democrats.

Calvert—T. Frank Lusby, James T. Ross, Republicans.

Caroline—Edward E. Carter, J. Edgar Williamson, Democrats.

Carroll—Daniel J. Hesson, Democrat; Judson Hill, R. Smith Snader, Republicans; John T. Stoner, Democrat.

Cecil—George W. Cosden, Samuel J. Keys, Adam Peebles, Democrats.

Charles—W. Mitchell Digges, Augustus S. Slye, Democrats.

Dorchester—William P. Andrews, Hazelton A. Joyce, Jr., William H. Maguire, Samuel J. T. Smith, Democrats.

Frederick—John C. Castle, Clement C. Ausherman, Peter L. Hargett, Jas. P. Harris, William O. Wertenbaker, Republicans.

Garrett—De Courcey E. Bolden, J. Elbert Chappell, Republicans.

Harford—Dr. Martin L. Jarrett, Joseph W. Archer, Henry A. Osborn, Jr., Fleury F. Sullivan, Democrats.

Howard—William Howard Brown, Edward M. Hammond; Democrats.

Kent—Harry O. Willis, Jas. S. Harris, Democrats.

Montgomery—Andrew J. Cummings J. Alby Henderson, Jas. E. Duvall, John A. Garrett, Democrats.

Prince George's—Jere J. Crowley, W. R. C. Connick, Millard Thorne, Ogle Marbury, Democrats.

Queen Anne's—Samuel Roe, John P. Roe, Frank H. Phillips, Democrats.

Somerset—Alpheus L. Carver, Herschel Ford, William F. Byrd, Democrats.

St. Mary's—Dr. C. V. Hayden, Jr., Democrat; Francis Z. Crane, Republican.

Talbot—Chas. H. Rose, Republican; John A. Rhodes, William Oscar Collier, Democrats.

Washington—David E. Downin, Democrat; Harry Brindle, Daniel D. Keedy, Republicans; J. Winger Draper, Jacob M. Middlekauff, Democrats.

Wicomico—John W. Wingate, Elisha E. Twilley, P. Taylor Baker, Democrats.

Worcester—Severn Murray, Reese C. Peters, William F. King, Democrats.

House of Delegates—Democrats, 70; Republicans, 31. Total, 101.

On Joint Ballot—Democrats, 91; Republicans, 37. Democratic majority, 54.

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\*Holdovers.

Immediately after the election, a fight developed over the Speakership. Talbot and Miles were still hostile politically to Smith. John Mahon was friendly with Crothers, and the situation was such that it was conceded the organization of the Legislature was in the hands of the Governor. Crothers, since the State Convention fight, had had no close relations with Senator Smith. They were still outwardly friendly, but a coolness as a result of that fight, and of the difference in judgment between them as to what constituted the best party policy, had arisen. Carville D. Benson, the friend and lieutenant of Mr. Talbott, became a candidate for the Speakership. Crothers, after conference with Miles, Talbott and Benson, led them to believe that he would be for Benson. Benson and his friends later claimed that the Governor did specifically pledge himself. The Governor always denied this. When Smith found out what had been decided upon he set to work to break it up. He realized that should Benson be elected Speaker, Talbott and Crothers could use him as a plank to walk on to the deck of the Democratic ship of state and take charge. He did not propose to have this, if he could help it. He himself went to Crothers and protested strongly. At his instance man after man went to the Governor and urged him for his own sake and the sake of the party not to permit Benson to be Speaker. Charges of corruption were made against Mr. Benson, and it was declared he was allied with the lobby and the corporations. Finally Crothers yielded, and swung his influence to Mr. Adam Peeples, of Cecil county, an utterly inexperienced and untried man, but one whom he knew and in whom he had confidence. There was, of course, tremendous disappointment in the Talbott-Benson-Miles camp, and they have not yet forgiven Crothers for what they termed his desertion. The election of Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., as President of the Senate was conceded. The Legislature met and organized. Immediately the trouble began. Crothers had his heart set upon cutting down the number of legislative employees and carrying out to the full every Democratic pledge in the platform. The organization leaders ran away with him on the economy business and loaded up the pay rolls in a way that was simply outrageous. Mr. Peeples' inexperience made him helpless against such an able

and expert parliamentarian as Benson, and it was Benson who ran the House for the most part. On the Senate side, there early developed the most pronounced bitterness between Senator Gorman and the Governor, and they fought each other all through the session. Senator Smith was in no way responsible for what went on at Annapolis at the time. A great sorrow came to him in the death of his wife, and he knew little and cared less of the doings at Annapolis. There was a tremendous fight over the Public Utilities Bill, which was only saved from defeat by the strenuous efforts of the Governor and Attorney-General Straus. The city representation pledge of the party was only partially carried out, and would not have been fulfilled at all, had it not been for Crothers. The Direct Primary law went through under the pressure of the Governor, who held his veto of local bills over the heads of the members, and did not scruple to use the patronage to gain votes. A white hot fight for the repeal of the bills giving the Consolidation Gas Company a monopoly in the city was the feature of the first part of the session. The Governor lined up with *THE SUN* in this fight, and thereby completed the final break between him and Mr. S. Davies Warfield, who felt that he had been treated with shameful ingratitude, and who was, in fact, treacherously dealt with by some of the city officials, who made agreements with him and then failed to keep them. An exception to this was City Solicitor Edgar Allan Poe, who refused to go back on his given word. The repeal bills went through and were signed by the Governor. From a political standpoint, the most sensational thing attempted by the Legislature of 1910 was the passage of what was known as the Digges disfranchising bills, which boldly and openly took away from the negro his right to register, doing by act of the Legislature what had been attempted by means of a suffrage amendment. It was a fine, bold scheme, which had the sanction of William L. Marbury, Arthur Machen, William Rawls and other Democratic lawyers who had been asked for help and assistance by W. Mitchell Digges, of Charles county. The outline of the plan was prepared at a conference held at Mr. Marbury's house in the city, to which besides Mr. Digges a number of other Southern Maryland Democrats were invited. Governor Crothers and all the other party leaders were later con-

sulted and agreed. The bills were passed and went to the Governor. THE SUN came violently out against it as calculated to knock down the whole electoral structure that had been built up in other Southern States by forcing the Supreme Court to decide the question. There was a tremendous furore for a time and then Mr. Marbury discovered the scheme legally would not hold water, and on his advice the Governor vetoed it.

When the Legislature ended, Governor Crothers found he had antagonized his party organization almost to the extent that Governor Warfield had done. The break between him and Smith was complete. Mr. S. Davies Warfield, Frank A. Furst and other big party men of high standing and character, had lost all friendship for him. Senator Gorman was his enemy, and all the smaller city and county leaders had begun to cry against the Governor. This did not worry the Governor very much, because he had long ago abandoned any idea of a political future, and did not desire one. He felt that he had done his duty as he saw it, and regretted the party leaders could not go along with him. He pursued the even tenor of his way, getting "knocks" from various sources, and closed the last year of his administration with the politicians pretty well arrayed against him, through no particular fault of his own.







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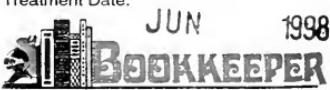








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